

203-14

THE
LIVES
OF THE
English BISHOPS

FROM THE
Restoration to the Revolution

Fit to be Opposed to the
ASPERSIONS of some late *Writers*
of SECRET HISTORY.

They were stoned, They were sawn asunder.

N. B. The [†] Author being advised to discontinue publishing this Work in Parts, and to complete the same in the subsequent Publication, has comply'd therewith, and accordingly the following Sheets in succinct Order finish the Design, and give an Account of the Lives of the rest of the Bishops of the Province of *Canterbury*, as also of those of the Province of *York*.

† *Nat. Salmon. L.L.B.*

L O N D O N :
Printed for J. ROBERTS, in *Warwick-Lane*.

M. DCC. XXXIII.

THE
LIVES

OF THE
English BISHOPS

FROM THE
Reformation to the Revolution

As far as possible of some late Writers
of SECRET HISTORY

By JOHN HALL, Esq.

The Author being obliged to discontinue
publishing this Work in Paris, and to return
the same in the subsequent October, 1793, to
his country, and accordingly the following
series of letters, which had been written
and were in the hands of the author at
the time of his departure from France, are
now published.



LONDON:
Printed for J. ROBERTS in Strand Lane.
MDCCLXXXIII.

THE
LIVES

OF THE

English BISHOPS

FROM THE

Restoration *to the* Revolution.

Fit to be Opposed to the

ASPERSIONS of some late *Writers*
of SECRET HISTORY.

To be Comprized in FIVE PARTS.

PART I.

Containing those of Archbishop JUXON, and
SHELDON, and Part of Archbishop SANDCROFT.

*Rode caper vitem tamen hinc cum stabis ad aras,
In tua quod fundi cornua possit erit.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for C. RIVINGTON, at the *Bible and*
Crown in St. Paul's Church-yard.

M.DCC.XXXI,

[Price One Shilling.]

THE
REV. I. V. S.

OF THE

English Bishops

IN THE

Restoration of the Revolution

and

Assertions of the
of SECRET HISTORY



To be Compared with

PART I.

Containing the
and Part of the

Restoration of the Revolution
In the year 1688.

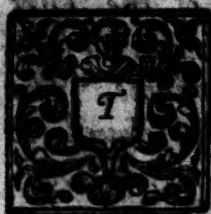
LONDON:

Printed for C. Rivington, at the Bible and
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M.DCC.LXXXI.

[Price One Shilling]

P R E F A C E.



THE Fathers of the English Church have been ill treated by interested and envious Writers; their Failings exposed; their Mismanagements aggravated; their Zeal, Virtue, and Learning eclipsed by idle Hearsay, and malicious Defamation. An Attempt to vindicate their Character cannot be condemned, tho' from a Hand unequal to the Work.

The Poison thrown into our Histories has so successfully diffused itself into the Habit and Genius of the present Age, as to reduce Religion to a languid State. The Pillars and Support of the Church have been battered and undermined by those that found Profit in Confusion, and the sacred Fabrick shook to bribe and compliment the Dispensers of this World's Good.

I don't pretend to draw complete Heroes, to justify Indiscretions, or palliate Crimes.

On the contrary, I don't hold myself obliged to a Detail of all the Faults I can hear of, detesting the Motto, Nequid veri dicere non audeat, when applied to any but pertinent Truths. Where the Aspersions has been publick, and a Defence can be made, it ought to be as publick as the Slander.

*I don't apprehend Charity directs me to shew that *Eunuchs, to Fraud and Insincerity, which is claimed by some Interpreters of the Text: Nor stand in Awe of being reckoned of a Party. If Christianity doth not oblige me to be of a Party against Atheism and Immorality, I have it yet to learn.*

* Complaisance.

P R E F A C E.

What the Prelates of this Augustan Age have been charged with by some late Writers of Secret History, may be set in a juster Light. There is yet Virtue enough alive to give a candid Verdict, to compare Fact with Libel, to shew a proper Abhorrence to an interested Accuser of the Brethren. My Business is not retorting where I may. Truth cleared of the Dirt and Slander which Envy has thrown, wants no such Aid, and will, I comfort myself, yet be amiable. The Men who are traduced, and their Merit burlesqued, to humour a vitious Age, will shine to Posterity in Defiance of little driveling Pretenders, doom'd to be, when Interest ceases, hated and despised. There is in Nature undebauched, an Aversion to see Worth and Virtue insulted, a Stimulus to do it Justice.

It hath been said, and saying with some is Proof enough, that Women after the Restauration made Bishops. If they did, they had a good Hand at it. In one Instance I admit the Charge: Dr. Kenn owed his Preferment to shutting out of his Lodgings, when the Court was at Winchester, a Woman of ill Fame.

A Continuation from Bishop Godwyn's Period is intended, if this be received, and tho' it come out afterwards, may be read in its proper Order.

This begins with the Archbishops of Canterbury and their Suffragans, in the Alphabetical Way, then with the Archbishops of York and their Province.

It is proposed to add to what Authors of good Repute have left us, all that can be collected of private Life, mixing an Account of publick Transactions in which these Reverend Persons were concerned.

As the Contention is not about Trifles, the Reader will excuse the Freedom of some Expressions, justifiable by the Importance of the Subject.

T H E



THE LIVES

OF THE *English* BISHOPS

FROM THE *Restoration to the Revolution.*

PART I.

*The Life of Dr. JUXON, Archbishop of
CANTERBURY.*

DOCTOR *William Juxon*, a Native of *Chichester*, had his first Education at *Merchant-Taylor's School*. Thence he went to *St. John's College* in *Oxford*, where the Scholars of that School have Exhibitions and Privileges, was Scholar, Fellow and President of that House. He was Fellow *Aug. 1598*. Applying himself to the Study of the Laws he went out Batchelor

2 *The Life of Dr. JUXON,*

Batchelor in 1603. He spent some time in fitting himself for a common Lawyer at *Gray's-Inn*. Having entred into Orders, he had *An. 1609.* the Vicarage of *St. Giles* at *Oxford*, which Cure he attended for six Years.

Anno 1621. he was chosen President of *St. John's*, and took his Doctor's Degree in Laws the Year after. *Anno 1626.* he was Vice-Chancellor, and made Chaplain to the King. The next Year he was preferred to the Deanry of *Worcester* upon *Dr. Hall's* Promotion to the See of *Exeter*.

Thus far the worthy Collectors of what relates to this Reverend Prelate, and other Great and Good Men of his Age, have traced his Life; and all agree in their Account. It is a Loss to the World, that the more minute Circumstances of the private Behaviour of so Venerable and Apostolical a Man, were not gathered up for the Entertainment and Benefit of Posterity. But making farther Enquiries proves only the Industry and Fidelity of those that have had Opportunity of an earlier Search. The Deluge that came after carried off all it could of the Merit and Glory of this illustrious Age. And we may esteem it a fortunate Support to Virtue, what is left of the Actions of this, and other renowned Fathers of our Church. Their Character is able to stand the Batteries both of serious and trifling Atheists; I mean those of a sour or smiling Mien, those who openly decry Revelation, or disparage it by preferring the Religion of Nature, till Time and Truth shall have brought the Assailants to Disgrace.

Dr. Juxon after this came upon a more publick Stage. *Anno 1633.* he was made Clerk of the Closet to the King; and the Year after Bishop of *Hereford*. The first of these Advancements he owed to Archbishop *Land*. The Truth of this is confessed in a History of *England* commonly attributed

tributed to Dr. * Kennet. † “ The great Care of
 “ Bishop *Laud* was to recommend such Persons to
 “ the Dignities of the Church, as he thought to be
 “ Men of the greatest Probity and publick Spirit.
 “ ——— And with a more particular Affection, as
 “ his Diary expresses, *July 10. 1632. Dr. Juxon,*
 “ the Dean of *Worcester*, at my Suit, sworn Clerk
 “ of his Majesty’s Closet, that I might have one
 “ that I might trust near his Majesty, if I grew
 “ weak or infirm, as I must have a Time.”

The same Year Dr. *Juxon* was translated to the
 See of *London*; and in the Year 1635. made Lord
 Treasurer. This Office had been from the Time
 of *Henry VII.* in Lay Hands, though frequently
 before executed by a Bishop. It gave great Offence,
 Lord *Clarendon* saith, to the Nobility, many of
 whom were in Expectation of so high and profit-
 able a Post. And more than they were disobligh-
 ed, because if the Staff had been otherwise disposed of,
 it might have made a Circulation of Preferment by
 the Subalterns succeeding one another.

Yet the noble Historian lays no Blame upon the
 Bishop as aspiring to the Office, but fixes it in-
 tirely upon the Archbishop’s Contrivance. He
 owns it in the latter a Mismanagement, yet admits
 the Intention to be for the Support of the Church;
 which is indeed to be seen in his Diary.

The same Author, in his Relation of the un-
 popular Attempt the King made to inclose a Tract
 of Land between *Richmond* and *Hampton-Court*,
 for Red Deer and Hunting, has mentioned our
 Bishop’s opposing the Design, and remonstrating
 very powerfully. He saith, one of his Objections
 was, the Clamour made by those who would not
 suffer their Right to be purchased out, after the
 Majority of such as had an Interest were contented;

* Bishop of *Peterborough*.

† Vol. III. p. 71.

4 *The Life of Dr. JUXON,*

the other, that the Expence would be greater than could easily be born, or could be justified by the Occasion.

Hence it appears, that he had the Honour and Service of his Master at Heart above all Considerations whatever. He found the King's Inclination strong to the Thing, and might expect to be a Degree lower in his Favour by opposing it; yet foreseeing the Flame such a Heat was like to produce, entred his humble Protest.

He resigned not his Staff till 1641. which Dr. Kennet's History saith was done in Prospect of Confusion which this Vote of the House of Commons gave. "May 17. Resolved by the Commons, That this House doth approve of the Affection of their Brethren of *Scotland* in their Desire of a Conformity in Church-Government between the two Nations, and doth give them Thanks for the same."

One Act of this Reverend Person in those turbulent Times must perfume his Memory to Posterity; his brave and faithful Behaviour on the Sentence against the Earl of *Strafford*. The Fury of the People, like a Whirlwind or Torrent, driving all before it, had so far shook the Throne, as to deprive the Monarch, if not of the Capacity of judging, yet of resolving Right. Press'd first with Force, and then with Reasons which came back'd with Force, to sign the Murther of a gallant Commander and faithful Servant, he appealed to the Power by which Kings reign, to judge of his Sincerity in a Refusal. He was clear in the Point if he might be allowed to speak his own Sense; but his Modesty seduced him to submit to corrupt or terrified Judges. A Conscience free from Guilt, and fearless of Danger, is disrobed of its native Strength, and forfeits its Innocence by artful Persuasion.

When

Archbishop of CANTERBURY. 5.

When Peace, and Pretences of Publick Good were laid before him, and he could no longer singly stem the Tide, he called to his Aid the Bishops of his Church, to try how far their justifying his Conduct might allay the Storm. Our Histories in general condemn the Archbishop of York for his Insincerity; indeed for the Barbarity of laying such a Load upon the Royal Shoulders as never could be shook off; and which, as appears from the Speech upon the Scaffold, was the Sting and bitterest Remorse the Agony of Death could present.

The Prelate we are speaking of, has from every Tongue the Glory of a generous Adherence to Right and Justice, of a resolute Opposition to the Design of the Faction. He boldly supported the King in this dismal Trial of his Integrity, and advised him to prefer Truth to Convenience. Lord *Clarendon* saith, "Others of the same Function," having mentioned Archbishop *Williams*, " (for whose Learning and Sincerity the King and the World had greater Reverence) did not what might have been expected from their Calling or their Trust; but at least forbore to fortify and confirm a Conscience, upon the Courage and Piety of which, the Security of their Persons and their Order did absolutely under God depend."

Dr. *Kennet's* History saith, The Bishops in general resolved the King, "That he ought not to go against his own Conscience upon any Consideration whatsoever." The Notes indeed taken from some other Writers tell us, "Only Bishop *Juxon* was resolutely against it." To reconcile these Accounts, one may imagine the last Sentence designed to shew him the only Person of the Company resolute, tho' not excluding the rest from the Honour of being of the same Judgment.

6 *The Life of Dr. JUXON,*

It must be a peculiar Satisfaction to the suffering Monarch, to have attending him in his last Minutes, a Clergyman, whose approved Fidelity, and clear Courage, had so well recommended itself.

The Archbishop's playing with the Word *Conscience*, making an unnatural Division of it into private and publick, has been ever detested, even by those whose Purposes the Casuistry served.

Can any Man at this Distance view the distressed Monarch without Tears, giving up his Friend and his Conscience too at the Instance of a Guardian and Defender of that Conscience?

Tenderness of Conscience was not to be admitted in a King. Yet Subjects might plead Conscience, as Women do their Belly, against Law to gain their Ends. *Solicitor St. John's* had a clear Notion of *Liberty of Conscience*, when he urged in Lord *Strafford's* Case; "That though Testimony was
"not so clear, yet in this way of Bill, private
"Satisfaction to each Man's Conscience was sufficient, although no Evidence had been given
"at all." It is remarked by the last cited Historian upon *Strafford's* Fall — "This noble
"Earl, who if his Master could have saved him,
"might have been able to save his Master."

Our Bishop could not but foresee, if his Advice had been taken, that the King and himself too were in Danger of a Massacre. Yet rightly judged, they should both have gone off the Stage like Men untainted in a poisonous Air; and prevented an Imputation more terrible than Death.

He passed the melancholick Years of Usurpation at his Manor of *Little Compton* in *Glocestershire*. And when the *Voice of the Lord shook the Wilderness*, and called home the King and the dispersed Exiles, he was advanced to the See of *Canterbury*. Age and the Stone pursued him so closely, that he survived the glorious Day no more than three Years.

Some

Archbishop of CANTERBURY. 9

Some considerable Benefactions of his during that Time are kept in Memory. He contributed to the Reparation of *St. Paul's* in *London*, repaired the Palace at *Lambeth*, and built intirely the Hall there. *Anthony Wood* saith, he gave One hundred Pounds to the Parish of *St. Giles*. *Dr. Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy* mentions near Ten thousand Pounds to the Cathedrals of *Canterbury*, or *London*, or to his own College.

The Virtues of this great Man would not have been so conspicuous, if his Lot had not fallen in so tempestuous an Age. He had seen and felt the most deplorable Subversion of the Church and State; been Eye-witness to the Sufferings of the King and the Flower of his Subjects.

And though he lived to see the Period of Confusion in its Turn, the Satisfaction he was capable of, was no more than generous Wishes to the King, and those that had been his Fellow-sufferers, afforded. Disease had unfitted him for any farther Relish in Life, than Admiration of the Goodness of Providence in delivering Mankind from being Parties in Wickedness, which it were better for them to suffer from, than justify: And that the abused Part of the World, who had learned from tortured Scripture, that Success was the Test of Right and Wrong, saw the Votaries of that impious Doctrine effectually confuted: That the blasphemous attributing the *Works of the Devil to God*, appeared in its true Light, as great an Affront as to attribute those of *God to the Devil*.

Here we hoped our Reverend Prelate would rest: That his Ashes were out of the Reach of Human Envy: That if any Detractor should attempt to disturb his Memory, and traduce his glorious Actions, he could not find an Ear to listen to so unpopular a Challenge.

8 *The Life of Dr. JUXON,*

Little did the Age he died in, think his Character would want Repairs. It is indeed vain for any Man to aim at the Respect of Posterity, if Dr. *Juxon* cannot have it. Envy has been thought to cease against the Dead, who can keep no Man from Preferment. But there is such an Itch or Interest in levelling Memory as well as Estate, that the Dead may wish to have their Memory burn'd as well as their Bones, for fear of being dug up and exposed.

Of late has started up a doughty Hero*, the first that presumed to take up the Gauntlet and blast our Prelate's Character. In the *History of his own Time*, which might as well have been call'd, *A Time-serving History*, he saith; "At the Restauration, *Juxon*, the antientest and most eminent of the former Bishops, who had assisted the late King in his last Hours, was promoted to *Canterbury*; more out of Decency than that he was able to fill that Post; for as he was never a great Divine, so he was now superannuated."

It is hard, that of all the good Things our Prelate's Life affords, not one could get a Place in this renowned History. A bad Action, could the Author have found it, would not have been omitted. But why was he not a great Divine? Or who is so, but such as the Author describes himself, a *Lover of Liberty and Moderation*? He has a Stroke also in this deep Remark at the rest of the Bench. For if Dr. *Juxon* was the most eminent of them, and no great Divine, what becomes of *their* Pre-*tence* to be Divines? This bungling Stroke of his Flail has but fallen upon his own Head. He has confuted himself by over-reaching. What Part of this Reverend Person's Character is defective? His natural Talents must be reflected upon, or his want

* Late Bp. of *Salisbury*.

Archbishop of CANTERBURY. 9

of Application, or his Incapacity of Judgment. In none of these has he, to the disinterested World, appeared contemptible.

The grand Point in View seems to have been libelling the old and the young King. To make their Choice ridiculous, was the End of throwing about these *Firebrands*. If the Bishop was superannuated, of which no Instance appears, either in the Government of his Church, or his Patience under his Disease, it reflects upon the Monarch that advanced him. And there it was principally intended.

To be a great Divine, he must have been a great *Latitudinarian*. Is this Liberty and Moderation?

I might find Dirt enough of this sort to wipe off the great and good Archbishop, if I would recite the Scandal bestowed by the Disciples and Followers of the Author last mentioned. To rake into such filthy Writings is ungrateful, tho' Gold were to be extracted; tho' the Inconsistencies and Contradictions of their Performance would give the unbiass'd World just Sentiments of the Men and their Well-wishers.

I have taken the renowned History to examine, because it hath the Honour to be in many Hands as Patrons and Subscribers, who have repented the Countenance they have given to such Productions. It is to be fear'd, that Countenance hath been an Encouragement to later Broachers of Scandal, who have thence expected a better Harvest than I hope they will find.

Dr. *Juxon* was buried in the Chapel of St. John's College, Oxon.

The body of Dr. Juxon was buried in the Chapel of St. John's College, Oxon. The body of Dr. Juxon was buried in the Chapel of St. John's College, Oxon. The body of Dr. Juxon was buried in the Chapel of St. John's College, Oxon.



The LIFE of *Dr.* GILBERT
SHELDON, *Archbishop of Can-*
terbury.



R. Gilbert Sheldon was born at *Stanton* in *Staffordshire*, July 19, 1598. He took his Christian Name from the Earl of *Sbrewsbury* his Godfather. He was admitted Commoner of *Trinity College, Oxford*, 1613. He took Master of Arts Degree, and two Years after was elected Fellow of *All Souls*. He went into Orders, and was made domestick Chaplain to *Thomas Lord Coventry*, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal. This Lord recommended him to King *Charles I.*

Of the Keeper Lord *Clarendon* saith, amongst other Points of his Merit as well as Fortune; "He had a clear Conception of the whole Policy of the Government both of Church and State, which by the Unskilfulness of some well-meaning Men, jstled each the other too much."

In the Year 1634 he proceeded in Divinity, was Prebendary of *Gloucester*, and the next Year Warden of his College. Then he was made Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, and Clerk of the Closet. He had been farther prefer'd to the Mastership of the *Savoy* and Deanry of *Westminster*, if the Times had not prevented it.

He was turn'd out of his Wardenship and imprison'd with *Dr. Hammond* by the Parliament Visitors. *Ant. Wood* was inform'd this was done lest they

The Life of Dr. SHELDON, &c. 11

they should hinder the Visitors Proceedings in the University, and to keep them from attending the King at the Treaty in the *Isle of Wight*.

He pass'd the Time of the King's Exile amongst his Friends in *Staffordshire*, *Nottinghamshire*, and *Derbyshire*. Upon the Death of *Palmer* he was about to take Possession once more of his Wardenship, when he was promoted to the Deanry of the King's Chapel, and nominated to succeed *Dr. Juxon* in the Bishoprick of *London*.

This *Dr. John Palmer* had been near twelve Years possess'd of the Wardenship.

The Part *Dr. Sheldon* had in conducting the Church Interest at the *Savoy Conference* after the Restoration, hath rais'd him an Enemy, whose Venom will be propagated till Truth hath more Friends to examine Things*. The above-mention'd Writer upon his own Time, hath followed his Blow from *Dr. Juxon* to his Successor. He tells us, in his Character of the Restoration Bishops, "That *Sheldon* was esteem'd a learned Man before the Wars: But he was now engaged so deep in "Politicks, that scarce any Prints of what he had "been remained. He was a very dextrous Man "in Business, had a great Quickness of Apprehension, and a very true Judgment. He was a "generous and charitable Man. He had a great "Pleasantness in Conversation, perhaps too great. "He had an Art that was peculiar to him of treating all that came to him in a most obliging Manner. But few depended much on his Professions of Friendship. He seem'd not to have a deep "Sense of Religion, if any at all: And spoke of "it most commonly as of an Engine of Government, and a Matter of Policy. By this means "the King came to look on him as a wise and honest Clergyman."

* Late Bp. of *Sarum*.

I should be ashamed to repeat this wretched Table-talk, if it were not to a just Considerer enough to give him a Surfeit of the Author. The main Chance is ever in his Eye, libelling the King, as before he had done upon Dr. *Juxon*. The King is represented, to have *no deep Sense of Religion, if any at all*, yet to chuse an Atheist for a *wise and honest Clergyman*. Had his Majesty call'd him so to serve an ill Purpose, it had been very different from *looking upon him as such*.

“He seem'd not to have a deep Sense of Religion, if any at all.” Shall *seeming* pass for Evidence, to a Man that in his Preface appeals to the great God of Truth? And *seeming* is a very slender Proof to go upon, where we take such a Liberty of conveying a Man's Character to Posterity. The short Step too, or Transition from *not a deep Sense to none at all*, is too ludicrous for the Entertainment of the serious Part of Mankind. He wrote, as his Preface tells us, “To make both himself and his Readers wiser and better.” They will, I hope, some of them be *wiser* than to believe him, unless in that Point, that, by *levelling*, himself might be the *better*. It is an Age of very great Frankness which we live in; that in the next Page to that, which appeals to *the great God of Truth*, we find a Confession introduced with a *perhaps*, “That the Peevishness, the Ill-nature, and the Ambition of many Clergymen has sharpen'd my Spirits, *perhaps*, too much against them.”

This I take to be boasting of his *Sharpness*. And it was well-timed when the Pen of those that made him such, was disarm'd by Death; — *Exsors ipsa secandi*. Hor.

The Reason of this severe Charge may be found upon the Year 1661. And it was proper enough to keep the Evidence from being cross-examined, by postponing it, lest the Foundation of the Charge should

should more plainly appear. 'Tis all owing to a want of that desirable Character the Author gives himself, *that he was a Lover of Liberty and Moderation*. " There was a Debate in Council a little before St. Bartholomew's Day, whether the Act of Uniformity should be punctually executed or not. Some were for delaying it to the next Sessions: Others for conniving at some eminent Men, and to put Curates into their Churches to read and officiate according to the Common Prayer, but to leave them to preach on till they should die out. — *Sheldon*, on the other hand, press'd the Execution of the Law: *England* was accustomed to obey Laws: So while they stood on that Ground they were safe, and needed fear none of the Dangers that seem'd to be threaten'd. He also undertook to fill all the vacant Pulpits that should be forsaken in *London* better, and more to the Satisfaction of the People, than they had been before: And he seem'd to apprehend that a very small Number would fall under the Deprivation; and that the gross of the Party would conform."

If the Steps by which all this was brought about are look'd into, the Crime alledged against Dr. *Sheldon*, and other Fathers of the Church, will, I hope, vanish, or be alter'd to its proper Appellation of a prudential Zeal for Religion. *A Love of Liberty and Moderation*, must sharpen one's Understanding as well as one's *Spirits*, if it helps a Man to conceive an Union of contrary Principles: If it reconcile an Opposition for Opposition's sake, with Order and Authority: Especially where the Opposers were divided against one another with as great Zeal as against the Church; who could no more bear to indulge one another, when undermost, than they could the Church.

All

14 *The Life of Dr. SHELDON,*

All this appears from the Conference at the *Savoy*, appointed by Commission from the King, to examine the Liturgy and its Defects. The Debates there between the Churchmen and the Sectaries named in that Commission, which all our Histories give us, are enough for Posterity to judge by.

It looks indeed more like an Appeal to the World, that the Exceptions made to the Liturgy were frivolous, than that the Guardians of it should give it up, without one good Reason for doing so. The main Point in Dispute, as the last mentioned Historian, Dr. *Kennet*, and others say, was, whether Things indifferent might be enjoined by Authority. Against this Mr. *Baxter*, in the Name of his Body, was very positive.

As there is Time, Place, Posture, and other Circumstances necessary to Worship, and to whatever is done in Publick, 'tis surprizing to find an Objection to the Appointment of it; that any who had taken upon them a Profession of Christianity, should break thro' Order, Uniformity, Charity, upon so Unchristian a Foundation.

Was there ever an Age before, where Authority was so refined as to be no Authority at all? The Essentials of Worship and Service being appointed, the Exterior alone, or Form of it, are left to the Governors of every Age. The first cannot be performed without enjoining the latter; yet Governors have not that Power! Who then has it? It must, we are told, be left to the Conscience of every private Man, whose Conscience has nothing to do with it. Conscience being no more than judging our Actions by the Rule of the Law that is to direct us, where there is no Law there can be no Transgression. On the other hand, Obedience to Governors is enjoined. And when we deny that Obedience without being able to prove the Command

mand sinful, we manifestly break one Law. And if we break one Law for no better Reason than that we were not Parties at the making of another, or that we think we could have made a better, we condemn the Governors set over us, and the Authority by which they were set over us.

Conscience, in the Sense it generally passes, amounts to no more than Thinking: And if the Persecutors of the Apostles should Think they did God Service in it, they might, as well as we, plead Conscience for it. If Appointment of indifferent Things be a Sin, it can be only so in the Appointers, not in the Complicers. Where Time, Place, Posture, are appointed, and without them Regularity and Consent in Worship is impracticable, somebody or other must comply with what they think might have been mended. The Dispute therefore will come to this, whether the Governors or the Governed are to prescribe: Whether the Opinion of the Subjects of the Church is to be ask'd, before the Governors can, without injuring the Conscience of those Subjects, impose a Regularity of Behaviour. And if these Things were put to the Vote or Ballot, would there not be some Negatives to the most received Opinion, and will not they have the same Plea and Pretence of Conscience?

Will any Man say, that submitting to the Church in Things not unlawful in themselves, carries that Face of Guilt as dividing and rending the Body? Are Kneeling, Standing, Habit, and other innocent Ceremonies, enjoin'd meerly by the Church in being, so frightful a Thing? Suppose we do them against our Liking or Thinking, if we do them for the sake of Uniformity and Obedience, we appear the better Subjects, and more willing to promote the great Ends of Charity.

Will

Will these Things fright us into enormous Crimes? Shall we for these join our Hands to throw off all Reverence to Spiritual Authority; all that Awe and Restraint which is the best Security for our Christian Behaviour? For these shall we render the Institutions of Christianity useless, the Power of receiving into, and excluding from the Church? Are we content for the sake of these indifferent Things to mislead and betray our Neighbour into a Contempt of Spiritual Power; to erase out of his Mind all Notions of Censure and Absolutions, as if they were never appointed, or are at best but declaratory? Shall we deprive him and ourselves of the Spiritual Benefit of Christian Offices, for nothing but to shew ourselves *wiser than our Teachers?*

The Part Dr. *Sheldon* had in supporting the Honour of Religion and an establish'd Church, proves his deep Sense of Religion, if any thing can do it to *Lovers of Liberty and Moderation.* The Clamour was great, the Clamourers many. The Numbers of tender Consciences and dissatisfied People, were urged against the Act of Uniformity. The *Presbyterians* pleaded their Merit in restoring the King. Some of the Courtiers back'd their Plea, and would have them humour'd in their Perverseness. Under these Difficulties our Prelate bore the chief Weight, proved the Adversary Schemes vain in themselves, and dangerous to the Church. He ventured losing his Interest with the King, thro' the great Power of his Opposers, adhering to Truth against all the Remonstrances of Convenience. Might he not have yielded to the Necessities of the Times, and the prevailing Voice of the People? Might he not have been contented with shewing his own good Wishes, and solaced himself with enjoying his Preferment, without bringing a Swarm about his Ears?

He

He considered farther, what would be the Consequence of giving in to the Demands of the Dissatisfied. He knew themselves would enlarge every Condescension: That they would turn Liberty into Licentiousness: And according to the usual Tendency of Fanatick Notions, they would be spiriting up the People against Kingly Government, when they had gained a Point upon the Ecclesiastical. And when by the Strength of the Party, who by the King's Favour and Clemency had got into Power, and even to be Members of the Privy Council, there was an Attempt made to suspend the Execution of the Act of Uniformity, this vigilant Father of the Church, by his Courage and forcible Reasons, opposed the Torrent, and prevented an Inundation of those Principles that had before given such Disturbance both to Church and State.

The King had been prevail'd upon, thro' the Goodness of his Nature, and the Regard he maintain'd to the Services of these People, tho' they brought him but upon their being trampled upon by an upstart Race of Sectaries, to call a Council that it might be deliberated whether the Law for Uniformity should have a temporary Suspension. Our Bishop officiously appeared at the Council, of which he was no Member, and pleaded the Reasonableness of that Law, made with the greatest Zeal for the Church, and upon the maturest Judgment. He said, himself had began to put it in Execution; that a Suspension were letting the Church's Enemies in against him; that it would be giving up all Authority, and bringing the Legislature into Contempt, if every popular Petition could overturn a Law contrived for the general Good, and with all necessary Caution.

This Opposition to a Suspension of the Law, which Suspension was contrived to introduce, in
C Time,

Time, a Comprehension, we may reasonably believe inserted in virulent Terms in the Diaries and Memoirs of the Vanquished; and that it gave a Hint to our Writer* of Secret History, to record against this great Prelate what would be agreeable to those who inherited the Zeal of their Forefathers against the Church.

Since so much has been told us of the Obligations King *Charles* was under to these Men for joining in his Restoration, and so great a Load has been laid upon our Prelate for not believing their Pretences, nor trusting to the Affection they boasted of towards the King, it ought to be examined what were the Promises he made them upon their returning to their Duty. Dr. *Kennet's* History † represents the breaking up the *Savoy* Conference thus; “ So ended this Conference, without Union
“ or Accommodation; the *Presbyterian* Divines
“ depending too much on the Encouragement they
“ had received from the King and his chief Mini-
“ sters; on the Assurances given them by some of
“ the leading Members of the Parliament; and
“ on the Affections of the People: In all which
“ they were mistaken as much as in the Merit of
“ their Cause.”

In the King's Declaration from *Breda*, 1660, given by my Lord *Clarendon*, these are the Words:
“ And because the Passion and Uncharitableness of
“ the Times have produced several Opinions in
“ Religion, by which Men are engaged in Parties
“ and Animosities against each other; which, when
“ they shall hereafter unite in a Freedom of Con-
“ versation, will be composed, or better under-
“ stood: We do declare a Liberty to tender Con-
“ sciences; and that no Man shall be disquieted,
“ or call'd in question for Differences of Opinion

* Bp. of *Sarum*.

† *Life of K. Charles II.* p. 254.

“ in Matters of Religion, which do not disturb
“ the Peace of the Kingdom; and that We shall
“ be ready to consent to such an Act of Parlia-
“ ment as upon mature Deliberation shall be of-
“ fered to us for the full granting that Indul-
“ gence.”

What is here now but Security against Persecution for Religion? But submitting it to the Parliament what sort of Indulgence they shall have? Could they imagine their Ministers should be allowed to keep their Churches till they had shewn themselves capable of it, by accepting the Institutions of the Church, as well as its Preferments? It was Condescension enough to put them upon the Foot of his other Subjects, to be qualified for Preferment on the same Conditions as they.

But they were for having all. Their *Plea for Peace*, as they call it, and Liberty of Conscience, was, if they would speak out, for their Actions spoke it, a Plea for Dominion, and not Indulgence: In short, a Plea for Liberty to impose upon other Mens Consciences, and bring the Uniform to their own Deformity.

If this needs a Proof, I will produce two for it. The first is a Speech of a Presbyterian Minister in his own and the Name of eight or nine more Chiefs of their Profession, *Reynolds, Calamy, Case, Man- ton*, and others, who attended the King at the Time Commissioners from the Parliament were sent to him to the *Hague*. Lord *Clarendon* saith: They told the King, “ They had always, according to
“ the Obligation of their Covenant, wished his
“ Majesty very well; and had lately, upon the
“ Opportunity that God had put into their Hands,
“ informed the People of their Duty; which they
“ presumed his Majesty had heard had proved
“ effectual. They thank’d God for his Constancy
“ to the Protestant Religion; and professed that

“ they were no Enemies to moderate Episcopacy ;
 “ only desired that such Things might not be
 “ pressed upon them in God’s Worship, which,
 “ in their Judgment who used them, were acknow-
 “ ledged to be Matters indifferent, and by others
 “ were held unlawful.”

The King gave them Encouragement to expect a Toleration, such as the Parliament should think necessary, for Peace and Quiet of the Kingdom. But they followed their Blow, and told him, “ The Book of Common Prayer had been long discontinued in *England*, and the People having been refused to it, and many of them having never heard it in their Lives, it would be much wondered at, if his Majesty should at his first Landing in the Kingdom revive the Use of it in his own Chapel, whither all Persons would resort ; and therefore they besought him, that he would not use it entirely and formally, but only have some Parts of it read, with Mixture of other good Prayers, which his Chaplains might use.” The King answered, “ When he gave them Liberty, he would not have his own taken away : That he had always used that Form of Service, which he thought the best in the World, and had never discontinued it in Places where it was more disliked than he hoped it was by them : That when he came into *England* he would not severely enquire how it was used in other Churches, tho’ he doubted not he should find it used in many ; but he was sure he would have no other used in his own Chapel.”

Their extreme Modesty or Moderation pursued him still farther ; “ They besought him with more Importunity, That the Use of the Surplice might be discontinued by his Chaplains, because the Sight of it would give great Offence and
 “ Scandal

“ Scandal to the People.” They found the King inexorable in that Point, as well as in the other: He told them plainly, “ That he would not be “ restrained himself, when he gave others so much “ Liberty; that it had always been held a decent “ Habit in the Church, constantly practised in “ *England* till these late ill Times; that it had “ been still retain’d by him, and tho’ he was “ bound for the present to tolerate much Disorder “ and Indecency in the Exercise of God’s Wor- “ ship, he would never in the least Degree, by “ his own Practice, discountenance the good old “ Order of the Church in which he had been “ bred.”

Is this a Petition for Peace, which prescribes to their King the Form of Service in his own Chapel, and the Habit of his Chaplains?

We have been hitherto speaking of the Presbyterians; but may make a small Digression to see the same dictating Spirit in the tedious fulsome Address of the Anabaptists, recited by the same Lord. They had pass’d thro’ the *Latin* Form of

— *Pudet hæc opprobria nobis*

Aut dici potuisse aut non potuisse refelli.

Then they come to their Propositions, the third of which begins thus; “ Forasmuch as it cannot “ be denied, but that our Lord and Saviour “ Jesus Christ by his Death and Resurrection has “ purchased the Liberties of his own People, and “ is thereby become their sole Lord and King, to “ whom, and to whom only, they owe Obedience “ in Things Spiritual; We do therefore humbly “ beseech your Majesty, that you would engage “ your Royal Word never to erect nor suffer to “ be erected any such Tyrannical, Popish, and “ Antichristian Hierarchy (Episcopal, Presbyte-
C 3 “ rian,

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“ rian, or by what Name soever it may be called)
 “ as shall assume a Power over, or impose a Yoke
 “ upon the Consciences of others; but that every
 “ one of your Majesty’s Subjects may hereafter be
 “ left at Liberty to worship God in such a Way,
 “ Form, and Manner as shall to them appear
 “ agreeable to the Mind and Will of Christ, re-
 “ vealed in his Word, according to that Propor-
 “ tion or Measure of Faith and Knowledge which
 “ they have received.”

This extraordinary Piece deserves a Mention
 here, because from it we learn, that if the Presby-
 terians had carried their Point against the Church,
 they would have been reckon’d Innovators, and
 Usurpers upon the Christian Liberty of pleading
 Conscience for Opinion. The Presbyterian Hie-
 rarchy is condemn’d equally with the Episcopal,
 is term’d as much as the Episcopal is Tyrannical,
 Popish, and Antichristian.

My second Proof that the Presbyterian *Plea for*
Peace and Liberty of Conscience meant something
 more, is this; That their Commissioners at the
Savoy Conference made *Root and Branch* Work
 with the Service Book, and propos’d one of their
 own, under this Title; “ The Reformation of
 “ the Liturgy, presented to the Right Reverend
 “ Bishops by the Divines appointed by his Ma-
 “ jesty’s Commission to treat with them about the
 “ Alteration of it.” In the Conclusion they hum-
 bly crave, “ That these Alterations and Additions
 “ now offer’d may find your favourable Interpre-
 “ tation and Acceptance, and may by our joint
 “ Consent be presented to his Majesty, to the End
 “ they may obtain his gracious Approbation: And
 “ the several Particulars hereof may be insert’d
 “ into the several respective Places of the Liturgy
 “ to which they do belong, and left to the Mini-
 “ ster’s Choice to use the one or the other.”

Without

Without insisting upon this unnatural factious Project for Peace, which carries in it nothing but Confusion: Without laying a Stress upon the Power left with the Church to determine for its Subjects in Matters indifferent; and the Exercise of that Power as in the Council of Milevis, * *Placuit ut preces quæ probatæ fuerint in Concilio ab omnibus celebrentur, nec aliæ omnino dicantur in Ecclesiâ, ne forte aliquid contra fidem, vel per ignorantiam, vel per minus studium sit compositum*: It may yet be maintain'd that this motley Method was as much imposing upon the Subjects Conscience as the Common Prayer Book could be said to do on the Dissenters. For it is left to the Minister's Choice to put this Reformed Devotion of theirs upon his Parish, whether they approve it or not; at least upon those who do not approve it. What becomes then of this mighty Cry for Gospel Liberty, which is of Necessity, the first Day it prevails, broke thro' by the Reformers?

A poor Cavalier, that for many Years has crept into Corners and Garrets for the sake of the true Service, and the Benefit of Pastoral Absolution and Benediction, must upon this glorious Turn of Affairs be condemn'd, if he be old or distressed, or doth not care to give Scandal to others, by running from Church to Church, as to the Market he likes best; he must, I say, be given up to *extempore* Effusions, to the Productions of every Drone or Humourist, and be excluded from those Offices which are in themselves edifying, and becoming the Object of Worship.

To give the Reformers their Due, I believe they had other Views than Confusion. They designed no Babel Worship, to have different Parishes, like Clan and Clan, Praying and Preaching against one

* Conc. 3. Can. 12.

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another. But as in the first Pulpit War they cut down their Adversaries, and talked their Audience into a Persuasion the Church was Antichrist, and the Earth to be inherited by themselves; they would draw out a Text that should be a Watch Word to the Mob, and give as decisive a Stroke to their Opponents, as *Neme cour * Saines* was to the Britons.

Too much may be thought already said upon this Subject. But considering these are the Men for whose sake our Prelate is handed down to Posterity with Contempt, indeed Infamy, as an Opposer of their Healing Designs; for the Honour and Justification of the Opposer, let us view a Sketch of their Project, as set forth by themselves.

Instead of the general Confession, which is short and comprehensive, here is a tedious Form not fit for every Man to join in, as acknowledging some Sins which some of the Congregation may never have been guilty of.

In the room of the Absolution we have nine Portions of Scripture, never a one of which expresses the Commission given to the Apostles and their Successors to bind and loose; but declaratory only of God's Goodness. To those that expected the Comfort of Absolution from the Mouth of the Priest, this must be little edifying.

The first Lesson must not be appointed, but, *such as the Minister findeth most seasonable*. As Scripture is for *Doctrine and Reproof*, the Hearers cannot imagine themselves pointed at by a Chapter in its Course, as they would be apt to think, if one were selected that singled them out. But Novelty must be indulged, rather than Order and Prudence.

* Draw your Hangers; a short Weapon concealed, by which the Saxons kill'd a great Number of Britons at a Parley. From this Weapon 'tis thought the Saxons were named.

The

The Singing Psalms are to be difused for a Version of *William Barton*, approved by the Church of *Scotland*.

At the Communion, instead of the Authoritative Absolution, is a Prayer for Pardon of Sin. The Minister is left to his Liberty when and how he will consecrate; with Design, one would imagine, to expel Order and Decency from the most solemn Offices of Religion. "And let none of the People be forced to sit, stand, or kneel in the Act of Receiving, whose Judgment is against it."

These are indeed Reformers, who cry out upon Kneeling as a proper Posture of Devotion. This would be worse than the tenth Persecution to be forced to. How do these Reformers consult the Beauty of Holiness? I would ask for one Instance of a Case out of the Church, where Kneeling and Sitting are esteem'd equally respectful? The whole Office, as they have modell'd it, consists of Prayers, for which one would think Kneeling highly proper; the Consecration excepted, which is repeating the Institution as delivered in the Gospel. And who can think the humblest Posture not fit, indeed not fit to be required?

Making it, as they do, a Supper only, the proper Posture of which is Sitting, what Room is there to indulge any body in Kneeling? This Liberty pleaded for is nothing but a Liberty for Enthusiasm. Can mortal Man give a Reason why Kneeling should be admitted at a Feast or Banquet, I mean, as a decent Posture? Nothing is to be press'd upon them contrary to their Judgment. But where they have no Pretence to judge, why such a Regard to their Judgment?

The extreme Moderation of the Quakers is admirable; who, tho' of the most inflexible kind of Conscience, can admit, upon an Audience at Court,

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to have their Hats tenderly lifted off, and pay four Guineas to the Instrument of Persecution. They would say, if they were disposed to speak, that they submitted their Judgment to the Practice of the World: That they shewed their Protest in their Reluctance. They don't indeed prescribe to the rest of the World to have their Hats nail'd on; which must be interpreted a generous Tenderness.

What would be thought of the Judgment of Children and Servants, if they were commanded indifferent Things, and should refuse Obedience? And is not the Superiority of the Governors of the Church equal to that of a Parent or Master? It is very evident that the *Savoy* Commissioners Judgment was such, when they subjected the whole Congregation to the Form the Minister should make Choice of.

In the Office of Baptism, where the Minister is to speak to the Parent, we may observe Reformation extending its Privilege yet farther; and that even *Priscian*, perhaps for the Affinity his Name bears to antient Institution, must have his Head in great Danger. *It being the Faithful and their Seed to whom the Promises are made; And no Man will sincerely dedicate his Child to that God that he believeth not in himself; I therefore require you to make Profession of your own Faith.*

Service in *Latin* is justly offensive; but why it should be unintelligible in our own Language, these Criticks upon antient Usage ought to shew. I question whether *Milton* would not have been a Dissenter to such Grammar and Sense. And if premeditated Sense, Sense that was fit to lay before Bishops and the King; Sense that it was hoped would be made a Canon, and charm the adversary World into Admiration of the Reformed Church of *England*; if this was so perfectly divested of human Learning as to confound a School-boy, what were

were we to expect when these great Heads were single, when they had less time to consider: when even lesser Heads than they came to extempore Performance? If Judgment may be pleaded, this to some People would be full as cheating as the Sign of the Cross.

In the Exhortation to the Parents after the Child is baptized, many Texts are used; amongst the rest this remarkable Declaration of *Joshua*, *As for me and my House we will serve the Lord*. It might have been expected they should have produced a Proof whence the Judgment of his Family might have taken Place of the Obedience due from them to their Father.

It was strange that of St. Paul to Timothy had not also a Place, who called Timothy his own Son in the Faith. Had they explained one Quality described in a Man fit to be ordained, and reconciled that Quality with the Judgment allowed to Men, Women, and Children, they had edified their Readers at this Distance of Time. * *One that ruleth well his own House, having his Children in Subjection with all Gravity. For if a Man know not how to rule his own House, how shall he take care of the Church of God?*

But how if it was the Judgment of this Bishop or Deacon's Children, whose Father was to be ordained, that Sitting at the Eucharist was better than Kneeling, what room is there left for Liberty of Conscience? Ruling of a House seems to imply dictating to the Children; at least dictating to them in indifferent Things. They that hope for the *Vox Populi* must take in Women and Children for Judges, and they are pretty secure.

We have in its course this Title; *The Visitation of the Sick, and their Communion*. By Communion

* 1. Tim. iii. 4.
in

in the Prayer-Book is meant the Office for communicating them. Here is not one Word said of their partaking of the Communion, therefore they must find a Sense in Words which nobody else knows. And here without any Ceremony do they condemn the pious Practice of admitting dying Persons to the highest Act of Worship: To that *Viaticum* which Absolution accompanies; where is the most solemn Profession of Penitence, and the most comfortable Assurance of Pardon to the Penitent.

What is there that Objectors, Opposers, Reformers will not quarrel with? The Power given to the Priest, however useful to deter the Impenitent, to comfort the Desponding, to support the shattered Frame, ready to be dissolved by Age or Disease, must be laid aside as useless, if not Antichristian, and an extempore Oration, fulsome perhaps and stupid, shall be substituted in its Room, redoubling the Groans of a dying Son of the Church, to see his Mother prostituted to Enthusiasm, and himself deprived of her Blessing.

In the Burial Office we have this, "Let no
 " Christians uncharitably judge one another about
 " these Things; let no People keep up groundless
 " Usages, that being suspicious, grieve their
 " Minister, and offend their Brethren. Let no
 " Minister that scrupleth the satisfying of Peoples
 " ungrounded Desires in such Things, be forced
 " to do it against his Conscience."

If I can guess at the Meaning of this, it must be, that a Profession of Hope for the Deceased, according to the Prayer-Book, should not be forced upon the Minister. Let the Objector consider, that the Office was made for those only that die in the Communion of the Church, if by Age qualified to be received: That Examination is made upon Oath of the Churchwardens, if any of
 the

the Parish so behaves himself as to give Offence to the Parish; that the Minister has himself a Power to present a scandalous Person, and is obliged to it upon the Churchwardens Refusal or Neglect; and where can we find a Minister obliged to bury any one with the Service, whom he is not himself to answer for, if he have lived a scandalous Life, as he was bound first to reprove, then to present him?

But considering how much is in the Reform left to the Discretion of the Minister, where, if Discipline is kept up, the fixed Method will answer every Thing; I will give one Instance of the Discretion of the Times, when these Men were not Petitioners for Peace, but the Moderators and Dispensers of it.

The famous Mr. *Chillingworth* being taken amongst the Cavaliers at *Arundel*, was brought with them Prisoner to *Chichester*, where he died. An Account of his Death and Sickneſs is printed by *Francis Cheynell*, late Fellow of *Merton College*. It is mentioned by *Ant. Wood*, who has also given *Cheynell's* Character, and makes him one of the Assembly of Divines. The Title is *Chillingworth's Novissima*. I mention it the rather, because the Author has addressed his Piece amongst the rest to the Prelate we are writing of, and because there is a Letter from a Parliament Captain, whose Prisoner Mr. *Chillingworth* was at *Chichester*, giving a Relation of his Sickneſs, and ſaying, it was the dying Person's Deſire the Warden of *All-Souls* ſhould know his State, for whom he has a great Eſteem.

Cheynell dedicates to the learned and eminent Friends of Mr. *Chillingworth*, and in particular,

To

To Sir JOHN CULPEPPER, Knight,

JOHN PRIDEAUX, Bp. of Worcester,

FELL, Dean of Christ-Church,

BAYLEY, Dean of Sarum,

SHELDON, Warden of All-Souls,

POTTER, Provost of Queen's,

MORLEY, Canon of Christ-Church,

Mr. Chillingworth had, according to this History, served the King as an Engineer as well as Chaplain. When he was taken he was sick, and because he refused the Attendance of Sir William Waller's Physician, the good People called him *Felo de se*. He best knew the Honour of the Enemy, and thought himself as safe in the Hands of a Disease. Yet if the Doctor had been so ungenerous as to dispatch him, he had been merciful; for the Torture he went through by the Insults of Cheynel, seems worse than a Flux. According to this Man's own Account, he pursued him from Day to Day with Reproaches for being a Cavalier, and a Man that idolized Reason. He put him upon Disputes daily, and teased him with such impertinent Stuff, and wretched Argument, as no Man ever used but to stupify his own Conscience: Such as he weakly thought would make his Adversaries believe him sincere, though misinformed and misled: Such as Reason must be decried to make way for: Such in Truth as proved the Tongue a Pensioner to the Appetite, the Mind debauched to answer the Demands of the Body.

I come now to his Funeral, of which Cheynel saith, "As devout Stephen was carried to his
" Burial by devout Men, so is it just and equal
" that Malignants should carry Malignants to
" their Grave. By Malignants, I mean such kind
" of

“ of Men who join with the Enemy, or are willing
“ upon any Occasion offered to join with him, to
“ promote the Antichristian Design now on Foot;
“ those, and only those, I call Malignants. When
“ the Malignants brought his Hearse to the Burial,
“ I met them at the Grave with Master *Cbilling-*
“ *worth's* Book in my Hand; at the Burial of
“ which Book I conceived it fit to make this little
“ Speech.

“ Brethren, It was the earnest Desire of that
“ eminent Scholar, whose Body lies here before
“ you, that his Corpse might be interr'd according
“ to the Rites and Customs approved in the
“ *English* Liturgy, and in most Places of this
“ Kingdom heretofore received: But his second
“ Request (in case that were denied him) was,
“ that he might be buried in this City, after such
“ a manner as might be obtained in these un-
“ happy Differences and bloody Wars. His first
“ Request is denied for many Reasons, of which
“ you cannot be ignorant. It is too well known
“ that he was once a profess'd Papist, and a grand
“ Seducer; he perverted divers Persons of con-
“ siderable Rank and Quality; and I have good
“ Cause to believe, that his Return to *England*,
“ commonly called his *Conversion*, was but a false
“ and pretended Conversion: And for my own
“ Part, I am fully convinced, that he did not die
“ a genuine Son of the Church of *England*. I re-
“ tain the usual Phrase, that you may know what
“ I mean; I mean he was not of that Faith or
“ Religion which is established by Law in *England*.
“ He hath left that Phahtasie, which he called his
“ Religion, upon Record in this subtle Book:
“ He was not ashamed to print and publish this
“ destructive Tenet; *That there is no Necessity of*
“ *Church or Scripture to make Men faithful Men*,
“ in the One hundredth Page of this unhappy
“ Book;

“ Book ; and therefore I refuse to bury him myself,
 “ yet let his Friends and Followers, who have
 “ attended his Hearse to this *Golgotha*, know,
 “ that they are permitted, out of mere Humanity,
 “ to bury their Dead out of our Sight.

“ If they please to undertake the Burial of his
 “ Corps, I shall undertake to bury his Errors,
 “ which are published in this so much admired,
 “ yet unworthy Book ; and happy would it be for
 “ this Kingdom if this Book, and all its Fellows,
 “ could be so buried, that they might never rise
 “ more, unless it were for a Confutation: And happy
 “ would it have been for the Author, if he had re-
 “ pented of those Errors, that they might never rise
 “ for his Condemnation ; happy, thrice happy will
 “ he be if his Works do not follow him, if they
 “ do never rise with him, nor against him.

*Get thee gone then, thou cursed Book, which hast
 seduced so many precious Souls ; get thee gone, thou
 corrupt rotten Book, Earth to Earth, and Dust to
 Dust ; get thee gone into the Place of Rottenness, that
 thou mayest rot with thy Author, and see Corruption.*

“ Touching the Burial of his Corpse, I need say
 “ no more than this ; It will be most proper for the
 “ Men of his Persuasion to commit the Body of
 “ their deceased Friend, Brother, Master to the
 “ Dust ; and will be most proper for me to hearken
 “ to that Counsel of my Saviour, *Luke ix. 60.*
 “ *Let the Dead bury their Dead, but go thou and*
 “ *preach the Kingdom of God.* And so I went from
 “ the Grave to the Pulpit, and preached on that
 “ Text to the Congregation.” — “ And I
 “ dare boldly say, that I have been more sorrow-
 “ ful for Mr. *Chillingworth*, and merciful to him,
 “ than his Friends at *Oxford* ; his Sickness and
 “ Obstinacy cost me many a Prayer and many a
 “ Tear. I did heartily bewail the Loss of such
 “ strong Parts and eminent Gifts ; the Loss of
 “ so

“ so much Learning and Diligence. Never did I
 “ observe more Acuteness and Eloquence so ex-
 “ actly tempered in the same Person: *Diabolus ab*
 “ *illo ornari cupiebat*; for he had Eloquence enough
 “ to set a fair Varnish upon the foulest Design.
 “ He was Master of his Learning; he had all his
 “ Arguments in *procineta*, and his Notions in
 “ *numerato*. Howl, ye Fir-Trees, for a Cedar is
 “ fallen. Lament, ye Sophisters, for the Master of
 “ Sentences (shall I say?) or Fallacies is vanished.
 “ Wring your Hands and beat your Breasts, ye
 “ Antichristian Engineers, for your Arch-Engineer
 “ is dead, and all his Engines buried with him.
 “ Ye Daughters of Oxford weep over Chillingworth,
 “ for he had a considerable and hopeful Project
 “ how to cloath you and himself in Scarlet and other
 “ Delights. *I am distressed for thee, my Brother Chil-*
 “ *lingworth* (may his Executrix say); *Very pleasant*
 “ *hast thou been unto me; thy Love to me was wonderful,*
 “ *passing the Love of Father, Husband, Brother.*
 “ *O how are the Mighty fallen, and the Weapons,*
 “ *nay Engines of War perished! O tell it not in Gath,*
 “ *that he who raised a Battery against the Pope's*
 “ *Chair, that he might place Reason in the Chair in-*
 “ *stead of Antichrist, is dead and gone. Publish it*
 “ *not in the Streets of Askalon, that he who did once*
 “ *batter Rome, and undermine England, the Re-*
 “ *forming Church of England, that he might pre-*
 “ *vent a Reformation, is dead; lest if you publish*
 “ *it, you puzzle all the Conclave, and put them*
 “ *to consider whether they should mourn or*
 “ *triumph.*”

I should not blot Paper with such Rhapsody, but
 to shew what sort of Animals were those who called
 our Reverend Prelate, and other great Men of the
 Church, Delinquents and Malignants, Antichristian
 and scandalous Ministers.

With what View could Dr. *Sheldon* apprehend these Prostitutes taken in at the Restauration, to be Fellow-Labourers with the orthodox and loyal Clergy? What could he hope for in a Truce with Hypocrisy and Enthusiasm? From Creatures unmann'd by Pride and Peevishness; who by a Habit of dirty Work in support of their Patrons, had defaced and obliterated in their Minds all Traces of Religion and Humanity?

The main Point at this *Savoy* Conference was, the Imposition of Ceremonies in their own Nature indifferent, which might do Violence to tender Consciences. Some Years after, the Act of Uniformity took Place, and separate Congregations were erected for Edification and greater Purity of Worship, the Opposition improved, and the Appointments of the Church were maintained to be sinful.

And it must be allowed that this Plea had a fairer Pretence than the former. There seems to be less Obstinacy where Sin is in our way than Indifference. Here was Room to plead Conscience, which could only be a Stale before, having nothing to start at but the injudicious Impositions of the Compilers, and their Neglect to call in the *Plebs* to the making of Canons.

The Service Book became daily more and more offensive: *Antichristian* and *Popish* were its Epithets, and no joining in it could be without giving up the Essentials of Christianity. Great Pains were taken upon the Revolution to repeal the Sacramental Test in favour of Dissenters. Dr. *Kennet's* History * assures us, there was, in the first Parliament 1688, an Attempt, *To take away the Necessity of receiving the Sacrament to make a Man capable of enjoying any Office, Employment, or Place of Trust.* This being rejected by the Lords, another Clause was offered,

To prevent the receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper upon any other account than in Obedience to the holy Institution thereof; and to provide, That any Man should be sufficiently qualified for any Office, Employment, or Place of Trust, who within a Year before or after his Admission or Entrance thereinto, did receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, either according to the Usage of the Church of England, or in any other Protestant Congregation. But neither did this pass.

Some Years after arose a Practice well known by the Name of *Occasional Conformity*. This effectually gives up Tenderneſs of Conſcience, and declares to all the World, that nothing enjoined by the Church in receiving the Sacrament, is unlawful. For if it had been unlawful, if it had been Popiſh, Antichriſtian, Idolatrous, who with juſt Scruples about him could have once appeared at it? And I never yet heard of a Cauiſt that would not own, if Occaſional Conformity is lawful, Conſtant Conformity is a Duty. What can be a plainer Confutation than for a Man to be judged out of his own Mouth? Is there a Man that hath the Face to ſay, the Obligations to Agreement and Unity in Religion are not great and frequently urged in the New Teſtament? What is it that St. Paul means principally by Charity, but *keeping in the Bonds of Peace*, keeping in the Communion of the Church? What then but the evident Sinfulneſs of the Terms of Communion can juſtify a Separation?

Shall trifling Objections be admitted againſt a Duty of this Importance? Exceptions amounting to no more than that the Inſtitution is not enough edifying, and might have been contrived better? Is the Church to be torn to pieces, ſeparated, and ſubdivided for the Sake of no more frightful Terms than People can get over when Profit lies at Stake?

In the Trial of Mr. Baxter, recited by Dr. Kennet *, we find *Rotberam* his Council, urging in his Favour, *That he frequently attended Divine Service, went to the Sacrament, and persuaded others to do so too, as was certainly and publickly known, and had in the very Book so charged, spoken very moderately and honourably of the Bishops of the Church of England.* This must mean of his going sometimes, and persuading others to go sometimes. Had he gone constantly, and persuaded others to do the same, how much more Service might he have done to Religion, at the same time he persuaded them to partial Conformity, by encouraging them to maintain a Separation?

All this shews the Prevalence of Habit and Prejudice: That Mankind is subject to Delusion: That Humility is a Vertue hard to be practised: That the glorious Principle implanted in human Nature, of being firm and inflexible in a right Cause, may receive so strong a Bias, as to deny Admittance to those Doubts, which, duly weighed, might change and turn our Opinion. To this may be added, the Unhappiness of some pious Persons, modestly seeking Truth, who have been bewildred by the Sophistry of their Opponents, by the Weakness of their own Judgment, by the inconstant and indecent Practice of their Adversaries, to an immoderate Retentiveness of their first received Impressions, ending in their own great Disadvantage, and the Injury of their Neighbour.

He that considers the Consequence of allowing extempore Effusions either in Desk or Pulpit, will never indulge such a dangerous as well as indecent Practice. Had this been admitted according to the proposed Reform, how easily would the People have been blown up into Faction and Rebellion? What had been in the Reign of the Father might

be expected in the Reign of the Son, and therefore the Avenues to such a fatal Scene ought to be well guarded. It can never be imagined, the King's Promise of Indulgence extended to the Liberty of pulling him down whenever the original Contractors should give the Word. The Principles of those People were to be discouraged, and Opportunities as much as may be kept out of their Hands. The Liberty designed for tender Consciences was never explained, but referr'd to a Parliament. If they had been free from Prosecution for not attending the publick Worship, and had Liberty in their own Houses, they had more than they allowed to the Cavaliers.

Allowing the Leaders Liberty of enjoying Preferment upon the same Terms with the loyal Clergy, must be called Indulgence. For who would have thought, that Conscience which raised and inflamed the Rebellion, that Conscience which justified the Trial and the Murther of the King, should pretend to such extreme Tendernefs, as to boggle at some innocent Ceremonies in Worship, confessedly in themselves indifferent? Had they been taken singly, scarce a Man of 'em, it's thought, would have stood out. Would they have embraced Contempt and Starving, rather than have a Child signed with the Crofs, or been present at the Service where the Priest wore a Surplice? Are these such frightful Things?

Rather we may suppose, a great Part of them influenced by the Counsel of those that hoped for fresh Confusions: That exhorted them to stand it out, and trust to their Numbers: Then should the Parliament drop their Test, or the Spirit of the Party be kept up to make better Terms for themselves.

If this had not proved true, the Supposition was unjust. But whoever is acquainted with their

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History, from the enthroning *Charles II.* to his Death, must be convinced this was the original Design of that Counsel. He will confess, that from the Restauration there was one continued Attempt to destroy the King and the Constitution: That frequent Discoveries and frequent Executions were no Terror to these Men of Tenderness, but they went on with a Constancy equal to that of Martyrs: Nothing discouraged by the ill Fate of their Contrivances, nor out of Countenance by the Confessions of their Accomplices at the Point of Death. Some of these publicly own'd their Guilt, others the Facts charged upon them, which they justified with Enthusiasm and Blasphemy.

If a tender Conscience were to be asked to give an Account of itself, how monstrous would the Answer be? That it is a Principle always craving Mercy, but allowing none: Ever pleading for Compassion when undermost, refusing it when uppermost. Where have we seen, or do we see it behave otherwise? It has neither Kinsfolk or Relations; none of the same Blood with itself, which ought to expect Affection or Regard.

I mean all this while, that tender Conscience which starts at that which it cannot prove to be a Sin, but only thinks it such. Thus the Reformers of the Liturgy express it: *These Things are not indifferent in the Judgment of Dissenters, though they be so in yours.* They cramm'd their Covenant down the Peoples Throat, allowing them no other Liberty but to choak or starve. Nobody was suffered to plead Tenderness of Conscience here, that they were not thoroughly satisfied in the Right they had to impose such Forms, which involved Men in downright Perjury and Rebellion. So that Tenderness of Conscience ought to have no Place where a Man is to swallow Fire and Brimstone; but where he has, as they call it, *A different way of Think-*

Thinking, and some precarious Scruples, in which he differs too from all the rest of the Tribes of tender Consciences, as much as he doth from the Truth and the Establishment.

The Power which they accused of treating them so hardly in the Act of Uniformity, doth, if we weigh Things well, shew them the truest Indulgence. The Church receives into their Body Dr. *Reynolds* upon the common Test; they make him a Bishop, a Governor of the Church. How many of them had thought Dr. *Reynolds* as wise and as honest as themselves? If he finds none of these indifferent Things so shocking, why should we? I don't say Example is always a good Rule, but it ought always to be so far regarded, as to procure a fair Examination of Things. Our Secret Historian * tells us on the Year 1662, " The Impression of
" the Common-Prayer Book went on so slowly,
" that there were but few Books set out to Sale
" when the Day came. So many that were well affected to the Church, but that made Conscience
" of subscribing to a Book they had not seen, lost
" their Benefices on that very account. Some
" made a Journey to *London* on purpose to see it.
" With so much Precipitation was that Matter
" driven on, that it seemed expected that the
" Clergy should subscribe implicitly to a Book
" they had never seen. This was done by too
" many, as I was informed by some of the Bishops.
" But the Presbyterians were now in great Difficulties. They had many Meetings, and much
" Disputing about Conformity."

Would this Man persuade us that any one of the Nonconformists was unacquainted with the Conditions of Conformity? Had the thing been done in haste on purpose to choak people, as he

* Bishop of *Sarum*.

candidly insinuates? Who would not have taken a Journey to *London* rather than forfeit all Expectations of a Well-being? Who would choose Starving rather than such a Fatigue?

Doth he not date this under the Year 1662? Had not the Bill lain long before the Parliament? Can a Parliament do such a Thing in the Haste that is pretended? Had not the Things in Dispute been argued and defended Inch by Inch at the *Savoy* Conference? What then is it that this Comptroller of History expects us to believe?

Would not another do as much for a Livelihood as himself did for a Bishoprick? Did he not, when the Page of the Back-Stairs, by Order, refused him Entrance, insist, his Business was such as nearly concerned the King? Did he not, when he got Admittance, upon his Knees beg the See of *Salisbury*? Did he not urge, *What will People say of me? What will they say of your Majesty, should you refuse me?*

Nolo Episcopari might be justly used by a Man that would not take a Journey to *London* rather than Starve. To go on with our Author, — “ *Reynolds* “ accepted of the See of *Norwich*, but *Calamy* and “ *Baxter* refused the Sees of *Litchfield* and *Hereford*. “ And about Two thousand of them fell under the “ Parliamentary Deprivation, as they gave out. “ The Numbers have been much controverted. “ This raised a grievous Outcry over the Nation; “ though it was less considered at that Time than “ it would have been at any other. *Baxter* told “ me, that had the Terms of the King’s Declaration been stood to, he did not believe that above “ Three hundred of these would have been so “ deprived. — The Blame of all this fell “ heaviest on *Sheldon*. ”

This Computation of Three hundred should have been reserved for a more Secret History, or
never

never have come out at all. For hence it appears, that there was a Spirit, a veteran Spirit of Opposition, that would not have complied even with Conditions of its own prescribing. This Leaven was enough for the whole Mass. Carefully mixed and applied, it had its desired Effect: And will be enough to furnish Mankind to the Conflagration. As long as Secret Histories prevail, it will be visible in both Writer and Reader. It will produce strange Fire and strange Incense, preferring Rebellion to Obedience.

If these Men were offer'd Bishopricks, as we are told, 'tis no Sign of an Intention in the Government to hurry on the Uniformity Bill on purpose to exclude them or their Brethren. If they were invited to the Bench of Bishops, how many of their Brethren, except the three hundred, might they have brought over? Might not their Words in the *Plea for Peace*, offer'd to the Commissioners on the Part of the Church, be return'd? *Will it cost you as dear to grant this Liberty, or abate these Things, as the Imposition will cost your Brethren and you? Oh how easily, how safely, how cheaply, yea, with what Commodity and Delight, may you now make this Nation happy in granting your Brethren these Requests?*

As Mr. Baxter communicated in the Church, as he persuaded others to the same; in his Trial we see it; how could he in the foregoing Strain petition for that Peace which it would have cost him nothing to give?

Vestigia nulla retrorsum, is a Motto too expressive of human Resolution. Mr. Chillingworth is condemned by Cheynell, one of the Assembly of Divines, for turning Protestant, because he did not renounce Reason and embrace Enthusiasm. Yet here's no Blame to fall on any body but Sheldon! *Ego*

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Ego & Rex meus, might he say, must be the Odium of Posterity?

But will this go yet universally down? Is the glorious Character of steering the Interests of the Church with Fidelity and Prudence slighted, abused, burlisqued with such Success as to be hiss'd out of the World?

If of the Subscribers to such Trash, every one would applaud his own Fortune, being *Dedecorum pretiosus emptor*, there are without that List enow to support the Reputation of the great Man defamed, which — *non Aquilo impotens possit diruere*, Hor. There are enow whom the confederated Forces of Sectaries and Latitudinarians have neither purchased nor confuted.

Upon the Year 1672 the Presbyterians themselves have a Blow of the Flail: “ When the Declaration for Toleration was published, great Endeavours were used by the Court to persuade the Nonconformists to make Addresses and Compliments upon it. But few were so blind as not to see what was aimed at by it. The Duke was now known to be a Papist: And the Dutchess was much suspected: Yet the Presbyterians came in a Body: And Dr. Manton in their Name thank'd the King for it, which offended many of their best Friends. There was also an Order to pay a yearly Pension of fifty Pounds to most of them, and of an hundred Pounds a Year to the chief of the Party. Baxter sent back his Pension, and would not touch it. But most of them took it. All this I say upon Dr. Stillingfleet's Word, who assured me he knew the Truth of it. And in particular he told me, that Pool, who wrote the *Synopsis* of the Criticks, confessed to him that he had had fifty Pounds for two Years. Thus the Court hired them to be silent:

“ And

“ And the greatest Part of them were so, and very
“ compliant.”

The King had kept his Word with them in proposing a Toleration to the Parliament, and farther by shewing himself in earnest for it. He might have kept his Money too, for the Good he found in parting with it so.

The Address of the Commons to his Majesty just ten Years before, upon the same Subject; hath these Paragraphs in it: “ It will establish Schism
“ by a Law, and make the whole Government
“ of the Church precarious, and the Censures of
“ it of no Moment or Consideration at all.

“ It will expose your Majesty to the restless
“ Importunity of every Sect or Opinion, and of
“ every single Person also, who shall presume to
“ dissent from the Church of *England*.

“ It will be a Cause of increasing Sects and
“ Sectaries, whose Numbers will weaken the Pro-
“ testant Profession so far, that it will at least be
“ difficult to defend itself against them: And,
“ which is yet farther considerable, those Num-
“ bers which by being troublesome to the Govern-
“ ment find they can arrive to an Indulgence,
“ will, as their Numbers increase, be yet more
“ troublesome, that so at length they may arrive
“ at a general Toleration, which your Majesty
“ has declared against; and in Time some preva-
“ lent Sect will at last contend for an Establish-
“ ment, which, for ought can be foreseen, may
“ end in Popery.”

The Blame of this, we may see, was as much due to the House of Commons as to Dr. *Sheldon*. I don't find either repented their Advice: And both are so far beholden to the Secret History, that they are not there accused of repenting.

One particular Piece of Justice the same History does to our Prelate, owning that he reproved King

Charles

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Charles for his keeping the *Dutchess of Cleveland*. This could not indeed come in without some Alloy: That the King in Return ask'd, Why he had not told him of it before?

This to some People is little like a Man that had little or no Religion at all. The Accusation I am not afraid to repeat, because Truth hath yet the upper Hand of Calumny.

I don't apprehend any thing farther need be said in favour of a Character that before some Judges can defend itself. There is an Evidence of this great Man's Integrity, which may be mention'd as one of his Glories, tho' there is no Occasion to produce it: That is, the Confidence reposed in him by King *Charles I.* He was useful and dear to this Monarch, transacted for him in his Difficulties, particularly at the Treaty of *Uxbridge*. In the King's Letter to the Speaker of the House of Lords, dated at *Holdenby*, Feb. 17, 1646, preserved by Lord *Clarendon*, we find a mention of Dr. *Sheldon*, Clerk of the Closet. His Majesty there names twelve Divines, two of which he desires may have free Liberty to wait upon him for the discharging their Duty to him according to their Function. Next after the three Bishops our Prelate is named. He was one of the Comforts of this pious King's Adversity. When his Death was signed, he petitioned his Keepers for one Day's Enjoyment of this reverend Person; and with him left verbal Instructions to his Son. These he doubtless delivered with his usual Fidelity. His Courage shewn upon all Occasions is a Proof of his Religion, if any Proof were wanting. What is it that betrays Men into sordid Compliances and irreligious Behaviour more than want of Resolution?

His generous Mind appears in his Benefactions for the Honour of Religion and Learning. In the
seventeen

seventeen Years he was a Bishop he bestowed to those pious Purposes seventy-three thousand Pounds.

Ant. Wood reckons up some of them: The Theatre built at *Oxford*, and an Estate purchased to keep it in Repair: The Library at *Lambeth*: Two thousand Pounds towards the Structure of *St. Paul's* in *London*: Sums of Money to *Trinity College* in *Cambridge*, and *Trinity College* in *Oxford*: His Legacies to *All Souls College*, to the Church of *Canterbury*, to the Hospital of *Harbledown* in *Kent*, and to indigent Persons: To this must be added, Annuities to all his Servants, who were a great many.

He was restored to his Wardenship of *All Souls*, as it were by Cession, as the King was to his Throne. *Dr. John Palmer* the Usurper had kept it almost twelve Years, and died in the Dawn of the happy Day.

Our Prelate preached before the King 1660, upon the Thanksgiving Day appointed for the Restauration: The Sermon is in Print.

In 1667 he was elected Chancellor of the University of *Oxford*.

During the Exile of *Charles II.* he was assiduous in collecting Money for his Service, and sending it to him.

After all, let an indifferent Person take a View of those Times; of the Sufferings of the Cavaliers for the Cause of Right and Justice, in itself amiable. The Person for whom they suffered was amiable too. Yet they had a stronger Bond than Choice and Inclination, that of Honour and Duty.

But the *Catastrophe* is not to be thought of without Horror. These Men of Loyalty, who ventured Life and Limb for the Church and Monarchy; who went thro' various Plunderings and Sequestrations; who mortgaged their Estates to take off the Penalty imposed upon Malignants; who set those Estates on tilt to furnish out a Subsistence

sistence for the exiled King and his Followers; these Men at last had but an empty Joy in Restauration. They had the Mortification to see their Enemies taken in, and kept in, because they forwarded what they hated, when they saw it would be done without them: These enjoyed an Opportunity of giving a Power out of the Independents Hands, which had been ravished from theirs.

This was the Merit. And to this Merit was sacrificed the Reward and Expectation of the Cavaliers: Their Estates were ruined, and many of 'em sold after the gaudy Day.

Their Joy was like their former Services, uninterested. And if they had foreseen to what Distresses themselves were to be put; how uneasy the Crown was to sit upon the Head of the Prince they wish'd so well to; they would have chosen to bear the Yoke, which was the easier for being habitual, rather than have seen a Day, the gayest they had ever seen, ending in Clouds and Storms. They would have had fewer Reflexions to grapple with than in their lowest State. They would not have seen Majesty harrassed and tormented by jarring and interested Councils: They would not have seen the Good Old Cause take Root again, pregnant with its usual Mischiefs; nor would have had the Prince to condemn of Neglect and Ingratitude, whom they prefer'd to their Life and Fortune.

What would best have palliated these Grievs, in themselves so piercing, must be a just Consideration of the Instability of human Possessions: A Comparison of their unhappy State with that of other Ages and Nations; from whence a Conclusion will arise, that neither Fortune nor Prudence can ensure Happiness, the first may deceive us, and the other too, but not altogether, unless we join in deceiving ourselves.

Dr.

Dr. Gilbert Sheldon died Nov. 9, 1677, and was buried in the Parish Church of *Croydon* in *Surrey*, where the Archbishop has a House, the only one, except *Lambeth*, now left standing of all the Castles and Houses antiently belonging to the See.

Sir Joseph Sheldon, Lord Mayor some time before, Son of his elder Brother *Ralph* of *Stanton* in *Staffordshire*, erected a Monument for him.



The LIFE of Dr. WILLIAM SANDCROFT, *Archbishop of* CANTERBURY.



R. William Sandcroft was born at *Fressingfield* in *Suffolk*, Jan. 30, 1616. Whatever was the Day of the Death of this Reverend Person, it must be better than this of his Birth. It could not be observed with Joy during the last forty Years of his Life, for the Remembrance of those dismal Evils which had happened upon it, in which every honest Man felt a most uneasy Share. This was the Day upon which the King was delivered up to his Rebel Subjects, when he was sold by the *Scots*. Here began his Imprisonment, and his Release. The same Day in any other Nation would probably have served for both. But this consummate Parricide was the peculiar Growth of our Clime, outvying all the Kingdoms of the Earth in monstrous Hypocrisy. Our Annals and our Almanacks are blacken'd with this unheard-of
Insult

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Insult upon the Authority of God, this matchless Envy to Virtue in Man. But what presents us to Foreigners with the most hideous Epithets, and what will sink our Pretence to Honour, even amongst the wildest and most degenerate of human Race, is that Blackness, shall I call it Putrefaction of Mind still appearing in a greater Number at this Hour than were those who perpetrated the Fact.

There is yet, tho' Blood has had Time enough to cool, a greater Body that approve and justify the Action, than were Actors and Abettors of it. This, doubtless, is one of the Curses pursuing so flagrant Wickedness, that the *Childrens Teeth should be set on Edge* both by Precept and Example of their Fathers. At last, the Crime was not National, tho' the Punishment was. So small a Part of the People had a Hand in the Royal Blood, that all are not chargeable with the Stain; not tho' we add a much greater Number than themselves who wish'd well to the Proceeding, tho' neither Actors nor Defenders of it. If to the Actors we join Approvers, and even Neuters, we shall not have a Majority. But if there were a Majority in Number, it could not be esteem'd so in Value, but as Gold to Lead and Dross. If we reckon the Men of Title, Honour, Wealth, against their Opposers, there will be no Room for Comparison. And this horrid Scene diligently observed, will appear the most glorious to the *English* Nation of any our Annals boast of. There is not so much in martial, as in virtuous Prowess. The Stroke that kills an Ox might have kill'd a General. Personal Valour is of itself of no Esteem, but as it serves a Cause that is fit to be served. Highwaymen and Pirates may have as much Resolution as Heroes and Martyrs, but it is not call'd by the same Name.

The

The Reason of the Increase of this savage Spirit, which at this Distance patronizes the foulest Crime, is obvious enough: It was the Sweetness of the Grape that affected Posterity. The Possessions which were ravished from the Cavaliers, except in some few Instances, were continued and assured to the Invaders upon the Restauration. They that brought the King home upon Articles kept the private Fortune they had got, and by it were enabled to make farther Improvement. The Loyalists Estates, eaten up with Plunder, Sequestration, and Debt, changed Owners, and their Place knew them no more.

To this may be added, the assiduous Endeavours of those that were abdicated by the *Bartholomew Act*; whose daily Work it was to revive and recommend *the Good Old Cause*. Here was a Field large enough to sow those Principles in, if we put together such as had already thriven, and who hoped to thrive by Confusion.

Dr. *Sandcroft*, tho' it might be expected from his high Station and eminent Merit, has had no body to collect the Passages of his private Life, which would be acceptable to all Lovers of Learning and Integrity. His Relations have no Memorials relating to his younger Years, not so much as common Tradition usually furnishes. He gave his Library to *Emanuel College*, reserving only such as would make up a Gentleman's Library for his Nephew. Upon this Division his Papers were allotted to the Nephew.

When this Gentleman died, his Books were sold to a Bookseller: The Papers were sold by themselves to another Person for eighty Guineas. Mr. *Wharton*, his Chaplain, in his Preface to the Trial of Archbishop *Laud*, saith, he had a vast multitude of Papers and Collections, and therein more, perhaps, wrote with his own Hand than any Man

either of this or the last Age ever did write. His Relations do not know of any Account the Archbishop has in these given of his Education. It is not so much as known at what School he was bred, or at what Time chosen Fellow of *Emanuel*. He was expell'd from thence for refusing the *Engagement*, no Advantage having been taken against him before, for not swallowing the *Covenant*.

Lord *Clarendon*, speaking of this *Independent* Test, saith, " That they might have some Obligation of Obedience from their Subjects for the future, who had broken all the former Oaths which they had taken, a new Oath was prepared and established, which they call'd an *Engagement*; the Form whereof was, that every Man should swear, *That he would be true and faithful to the Government established, without King or House of Peers*: And whosoever refused to take that Engagement should be incapable of holding any Place or Office in Church or State. The Necessity of taking which Oath did not only exclude all of the Royal Party, but freed them from very many who had Offices in Church and State, who being of the *Presbyterian* Party, must not sacrifice their beloved *Covenant* to this Engagement."

Dr. *Kennet's* History, p. 194. gives us just the same Notion of their Policy: " The State of Religion was to be new-modell'd by the Army, rather than by any other Power; and therefore in *August* the General and his Council of Officers petition'd the House, that all penal Statutes formerly made, and late Ordinances whereby many *conscientious* People were molested, and the Propagation of the Gospel hindred, might be removed; to which the House were bound to assent, and to order the bringing the Matter of the Petition into *An Act for Ease of tender Consciences*."

“Consciences. Which was but a Stratagem of
“the *Independents* to overthrow the *Presbyterian*
“Government and Discipline.”

This *Tenderness of Conscience* was the most useful
Stale they had, but they have worn it out. They
obliged all but themselves to get *new Consciences*
as often as they had a General to lay aside, or an-
other to raise.

Such a Cloke as this, one would think, meerly
for its Name, so torn, turned, and weather-beaten,
should not have been put on by the Brethren at
the Restoration, which was only fit to scare every
body from the Ground they stood upon. It was
Time to drop this Watch-word, which had un-
hinged the Nation, which had ruined the Cavaliers,
and ruined the Covenant too; which in its Turn
had demolished the Presbyterian, its natural Pa-
rent, from whom it received its Birth. Yet it was
a lucky Word, one that never fail'd of Success,
and therefore making their Spirits mantle upon that
fresh Attempt on Church and Monarchy.

This was the Title of *John Owen's Book, An
Apology for Liberty of Conscience*: Who, tho' he
had in a Sermon before the Regicides justified the
Parricide, and enjoin'd his Hearers to perfect the
Work in the Destruction of the King's Posterity,
and that odious Form of Government, took upon
him yet to extol the Independents Loyalty to King
Charles II.

Mr. *Sandcroft* had applied himself close to his
Studies, and had laid in such a Stock of Learning,
as, joined with Religion and good Manners, made
him highly acceptable to the Royal Exiles. Some
Part of those Years he passed in *France* and *Italy*.
And there, 'tis probable, he entred into that Friend-
ship with Dr. *Cosin*, afterwards Bishop of *Durham*,
which was always maintained to the great Satis-
faction of both.

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But neither his Manners, his Learning, nor his Acquaintance, can at this Distance of Time screen him from a Stroke of the Flail. I am not afraid to produce the Charge at first, because the remaining Part of his Life is fit to confront it, and when produced is a stronger Bulwark to his Reputation than I am confident equal Judges will find in the Assailant.

On the Year 1676. * “ Sandcroft Dean of St. Paul’s was raised to it (the See of Canterbury). “ He was a Man of solemn Deportment, had a “ sullen Gravity in his Looks, and was confidently learned. He had put on a monastic Strictness, and lived abstracted from Company. These “ Things, together with his living unmarried, and “ his being fixed in the old Maxims of high Loyalty, and a superstitious valuing of little Things, “ made the Court conclude that he was a Man “ who might be entirely gain’d to serve all their “ Ends, or at least, that he would be an unactive “ speculative Man, and give them little Opposition in any thing that they might attempt, when “ they had more promising Opportunities. He “ was a dry, cold Man, reserved, and peevish; “ so that none loved him, and few esteemed him: “ Yet the High Church Party were well pleased “ with his Promotion.”

— *Quæ labra quis illi*

Vultus nunquam, si quid mihi credis, amavi

Hunc hominem. — Juven.

The Archbishop must be judged by his Looks: He had a sullen Gravity in his Looks. Virtue is stern. And if his Grace were to be drawn, he would have insisted upon those unpopular Features

* Late Bp. of Sarum.

he's condemned for, rather than the good Breeding such a Critick in Faces would recommend. And why must a Man's employing his Time in Devotion and Study be ridiculed as a monastic Strictness? If that Strictness be monastic, the Monasteries have something to be valued for.

This Description is, by a new sort of Logic, to prove him pliant or malleable to all Court Politicks! Because a Man is rigid and inflexible, he will comply and bend! Because Nature and Habit have prepared him against being a Sycophant and Latitudinarian, he's the easier gained to serve ill Purposes.

I have heard of some great Astrologers that have foretold Things after they came to pass, to gain Credit to what they should deliver for the future: But never before of a Fortune-teller that, after the Event, foretold what was directly contrary to his own and the World's Experience. Did he not refuse to act in the Ecclesiastical Commission of James II.? Did he not go to the Tower for refusing to publish the Toleration? And were not these Facts before this worshipful History was wrote? Why then must this abandoned Critick fetch Arguments from Physiognomy and Temper, to prove what every body who had Eyes knew to be false?

Something must be said, which right or wrong, wise or senseless, passes with the long-ear'd Rout. *Hugh Peters* might have said this, as well as *Aquila impotens*. His Audience was prepared to reverence the Oracle.

He was a dry, cold Man, reserved, and peevish. I am not enough acquainted with the Doctrine of Humours to know what is meant by being dry. Coldness I should not have thought carried any Malignity, from its near Approach to Luke-warm. Reservedness cannot well be esteemed a Crime in

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an Archbishop, since his Successor Dr. Tillotson in his Sermon against Evil-speaking hath this; *The true Art of Conversation, if any Man can hit of it, seems to be this, an appearing Freedom and Openness, with a resolute Reservedness as little appearing as possible.* There is something like this in Lord Bacon, tho' more frankly express'd; * *The best Composition and Temperature is, to have Openness in Fame and Opinion, Secrecy in Habit, Dissimulation in seasonable Use, and a Power to feign, if there be no Remedy.*

There are *Free-speakers* as well as *Free-thinkers*. Had our free-spoken Historian wanted half a Grain of any thing to make him fit for an Archbishop, I would have advis'd him to such a Quantity of Dr. Sandcroft's Reservedness, for these two Reasons: First, that if he had not acted too much the Part of a *Dictator*, and claimed the Honour of every thing to himself, he might probably have arrived at *Lambeth*: Next, that his Vein of Gossiping has made him fall foul upon his Master, which a *resolute Reservedness* might have prevented the Temptation to.

The Archbishop was *peevish*! *Jonah*, saith Archbishop Tillotson, was a *peevish Prophet*. Why should you call him *peevish*, who made Way for you to the desired Throne of *Canterbury*? Call him *peevish*, that upon a first and second Vacancy denied your Grace, or remember it for him, *when you have a more promising Opportunity.*

None loved him, and few esteemed him! What a Satire is here? May I be esteemed, where I am not loved, would a Man of Honour say! If Love does not follow Esteem, 'tis a Sign the Judges have a low Taste; rather that great Authors talk as if they were light-headed.

* Essay on Simulation and Dissimulation.

Yet the High-Church Party were pleased with his Promotion! If this Physiognomist had told us what he means by the *Low-Church Party*, he would have enlighten'd some of his Readers. Are Light and Darkneſs, Regularity and Confuſion, Order and Rebellion Parties?

Therefore, *they were well pleased with his Promotion.* What is all this but by one Stroke to turn all the High-Church into Madmen and Fools, for doating upon a Father of the Church whoſe ſtrenuous Endeavours for her Welfare gave them Suspicion he would, upon the firſt Hint from Court, betray it?

This profound Author, I proteſt I cannot underſtand him, puts me in mind of himſelf, ſpeaking of the Preaching of Charles the II^d's Reign: *This was both long and heavy, when all was pye-bald, full of many Sayings of different Languages. The common Style of Sermons was either very flat and low, or ſwelled up with Khetorick to a falſe Pitch of a wrong Sublime. Here's Muſick and Oratory ſet together by the Ears.*

To whom is this Character of the Archbishop directed? *The High-Church Party were well pleased with his Promotion*, becauſe he was a Man whom no body loved. The great Sanderſon ſpoke *ad Aulam, ad Magistratum, ad Populum*, and when he ſpoke *ad Clerum* he had none of this pye-bald Compliment, to affront the moſt deſerving Part, the whole that would thank him for reckoning them in the Church. This Addreſs then muſt be, to the Brethren of the *Presbytery*, the *Independents*, *Anabaptiſts*, *Antinomians*, *Quakers*, *Latitudinarians*, and *Free-thinkers*, every one of which, and none elſe, will find his Work agreeable to their Taſte, and ſerviceable to their Cauſe.

Another Accuſation we have upon the Year 1661, "New Offices were alſo drawn for two new Days,

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“ the Thirtieth of *January*, call'd King *Charles*
 “ the Martyr; and the Twenty-ninth of *May*,
 “ the Day of the King's Birth and Return. *Sand-*
 “ *croft* drew for these some Offices of a very high
 “ Strain. Yet others of a more moderate Strain
 “ were preferred to them. But he coming to be
 “ advanced to the See of *Canterbury*, got his Offices
 “ to be published by the King's Authority in a
 “ Time when so high a Style as was in them did
 “ not sound well in the Nation.”

I can't see where this *high Strain and Style*, as it is call'd, can offend any Ears but theirs who rejoiced at the Tragedy of the Day. What is there in it but Detestation of the Crime? But Deprecation of those Punishments the Nation had Reason to fear? But protesting against those seditious Tenets which led Men into the shedding Royal innocent Blood, and that under the Mockery of Law and Justice?

In the other of Thanksgiving, the high Strain must be, acknowledging God's Authority, with which Princes are invested. And if this be offensive, there's as much of it in the daily Offices. And why must this be charged with what is common to all the rest?

But *these Offices were published at a Time* when so *high a Style did not sound well in the Nation*. Can any Man without being *second-sighted* find out the Meaning of this Sentence? *They did not sound well in the Nation*. To what Part of the Nation? It is most natural to suppose they did not *sound well* to the Revivers of Sedition and Rebellion. But doth any Man that wishes Prosperity to Religion and the Hierarchy, wish to see an Office that shall please Fanaticks better than Churchmen? Doth the eighth Commandment sound well to him that invades his Neighbour's Property? What mighty Care is taken that their Ears should not be offended;

as

as if their Ears were as tender as their Consciences? The more unfashionable a Doctrine is, the more it should sound, if it sounds of Right and Truth. When are Protests to be made, when Apologies, but when Truth is like to be run down?

The Year 1677 was, it seems, a Year of great Struggle. Dr. Kennet's History, in the Margin, hints at great Opposition to the Church and Monarchy. And this was the Year when Dr. Sandcroft was promoted to Canterbury, and got his Prayers authorized. "At the same time a full Liberty was given to those Books which were written to divide the Protestants in England, and to break the Protestant Interest in Europe; of which sort were the *Countermine*, or, a short but true Discovery of the dangerous Principles and secret Practices of the Dissenting Party, especially of the Presbyterians, shewing Religion is pretended, but Rebellion is intended, and in order thereto, the Foundation of Monarchy in the State, and Episcopacy in the Church are undermined. By one who does passionately wish the Prosperity of the Church, his King, and Country, i.e. Dr. John Nalson."

Here's a Complaint made against those that divide Protestants, by the Men that divide the Church. Had they suffered the Church to remain undivided, Protestants might have been so too. The Church is cried out upon for a severe Mother, not indulging her Children in their Demands. Half her Children, or as many as can be gained to join in the Remonstrance, are spirited up to Disobedience; to set themselves against her, and to erect a Scheme of their own inventing, most suitable, as the *Scots* express it, to the Inclinations of the People.

Who is it then that divides Protestants, he that directs them to obey their Mother in Things not

not unlawful, but in their Nature indifferent, (for that was the Case) or he that furnishes them with Arguments and Pretences to rebel?

But that so much should depend upon Sound! Or that a Man submitting to and approving, in the most solemn Manner, the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, should imagine himself at liberty to dispense with her Laws, and *teach Men so to do!* The Trumpet that gives this *uncertain Sound* is no better than an Antichristian Engine for Pride or Gain, advancing the Interests of another Kingdom.

Dr. *Sandcroft* returned from his Exile a little before the King came in. The Year before the Restoration died Dr. *Morton* Bishop of *Durham*. To this See Dr. *Cosin* was advanced from the Deanry of *Peterburgh*. This great Man entertained Dr. *Sandcroft* for his Chaplain, with whom he had been intimately acquainted Abroad. He was a good Judge of Learning and Integrity, And, if there were no other Proofs of his Chaplain's Merit than his Choice of him, that were fit to be weighed against all the accumulative Scandal of the following Century. This, without having recourse to the Skill Women in those Days are said to have in making Bishops, will account for so venerable a Bench as the Age we are writing of produced: Those great Men who enjoyed the principal Preferments after the Restoration, made Choice of those for their Chaplains whose Learning and Character recommended them. As these were assistant in the Government of the Diocese, and employed in examining into the Fitness of Candidates, it was the surest Method to avoid being imposed upon. And as the Conduct of the Bishops entitled them to the Royal Favour, they were most like to be ask'd who were proper to succeed upon a Vacancy. And whom could they
so

so honestly recommend, as those of whom they had the greatest Experience for Faithfulness in the Trust already committed to them?

The first Preferment I find *Dr. Sandcroft* had after the Restauration, was in the Church of *Durham*, to which he was probably collated by the Bishop. He was admitted in 1661 to the Rectory of *Houghton* in the County *Palatine*, and to a *Prebend* of that Cathedral. These are said to have been resigned by *Dr. John Barwick*, who was made Dean of *Durham* first, and after a few Months Dean of *Paul's*. *Dr. Barwick* was Chaplain to Bishop *Morton*, a very great Sufferer for the Royal Cause, most inhumanely treated by the Rebel Power, imprisoned and almost starved in a noisom Place. He survived the Restauration but four Years; otherwise, 'tis probable, we should have found him advanced to the highest Honour in the Church. His Life is lately published, written by his Brother. He is the Man said to be meant by *Dr. Sydenham*, who drank nothing but Water in a severe Imprisonment, and recovered of a Disease, beyond all Expectation. The Parliament Physicians were wonderfully skilful in taking off a *Plethory*.

In 1662. *Dr. Sandcroft* was chosen Master of *Emanuel College*. About the same Time he was made Dean of *York*. In 1664 the *Prebend* of *Oxgate* in the Church of *St. Paul* was conferr'd upon him, and soon after the Deanry. He followed *Dr. Barwick* in Preferment, as he had the Honour to accompany him in Sufferings. In 1668 he was made *Archdeacon* of *Canterbury*. The Cathedral of *St. Paul* being out of Repair upon his Advancement to the Deanry, he made it his Business to put it into a better Condition. It was no Wonder, that having been made a Stable in the reforming Times, this sacred Edifice should bear its Part with

with its Inhabitants. It was a Merit in the Soldiers to deface the Ornaments of Worship: Regularity in Church and State was the Enemy they were lifted against. There had passed but four Years since the demolishing Times: therefore it could not be expected there should be much Money so soon raised as was requisite to bring those Buildings into a decent State, which had been industriously dilapidated. The starved Cavaliers returning Home, had enough to do to provide the Necessities of Life at first. When they grew fat, they soon dispersed their Store in Works of Piety and Munificence. The Fire, which laid the Church in Ashes two Years after, required his more earnest Care in rebuilding it. A good Fund he raised toward the Work, by his Interest and Acquaintance. And himself contributed Fourteen hundred Pounds. He rebuilt also the Deanry, and left the Revenue of it better than he found it. As Dean the Rectory of *Sandon* in *Hertfordshire* belonged to him, and the Patronage of the Vicarage. This Parish is of large Extent, and before his Time but slenderly endowed. He purchased a Fee-farm Rent of the yearly Value of eight Pounds *per Ann.* issuing out of the Church of *Litchfield*; and granted it, with a Rent-charge of twenty Pounds *per Ann.* issuing out of the Parsonage and Tythes of this Vill, to the Use of the Vicars of this Parish Church, and to their Successors for ever.

By these Steps his Character advanced till it was conspicuous at Court. His Zeal, his Candour, his Learning, his exemplary Behaviour in a lower State, all recommended him to the highest Office in the Church. His publick Spirit in so many Scenes of Life, his Constancy in suffering, his unbiass'd Deportment in Times of greater Difficulty afterwards, concurr'd to present him a proper Governor in that turbulent Age. His whole Life and Conversation

was

was so clear of personal and temporary Views, that the true Sons of the Church rejoiced to see so venerable a Person fill the Chair: They applauded the Royal Judgment and Candour in a Choice which secured a Preference to Learning in all the Preferments he should bestow. And look'd upon him as a Steward rather than Owner of the Church's Patrimony; laying it out according to the Intention of the Founders; not willing, as *Fuller* saith of his Predecessor *Grindal*, to die guilty of much Wealth.

He was *Prolocutor* of the lower House of Convocation when he was advanced to *Canterbury*. This shews the good Opinion Churchmen had of his Zeal and Prudence. And tho' nothing was done in Convocation during this Reign since the Revival of the *Liturgy*, and the Act of *Uniformity*, much was owing to the Firmness of the Members, who were aware of the Consequence of Innovations.

Upon this Head *Mr. Wharton's* Observation is very seasonable, in his *Defence of Pluralities* * speaking of the Corruptions crept into the Church, by the Neglect of her Orders, and Non-execution of her established Discipline: " All that Benefit and Re-
 " formation would follow which some (not
 " knowing the Excellence of the present Consti-
 " tution) propose to obtain by such new Laws and
 " Projects, as would, perhaps, shake and endan-
 " ger the whole Fabrick of the Church. What
 " the Lord *Bacon* observed concerning *Natural*
 " *Philosophy*, that a superficial Knowledge of it
 " makes Men Atheists, but a perfect Knowledge
 " of it reduceth them to Religion, is fully as true
 " in Ecclesiastical Polity. An imperfect View
 " and Knowledge of the Constitution and State of
 " our Church makes Men desirous of a Change or

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“ Reformation; but a thorough Knowledge of it
 “ makes them not only be content, but pleased
 “ with her present Constitution, only desirous that
 “ her excellent Laws and Institutions may be put
 “ in Practice.”

When I have mention'd this Author, I must remember the Relation he bore to the Archbishop as his Chaplain. In this Choice the great Man shewed his Zeal and Sagacity for the Glory of the Church. Mr. *Wharton* was one of the most considerable Productions of the Age, by Nature endowed with eminent Talents, by Application adorned with the most amiable Improvements. He was, above his Years, instructed to convince and persuade. His Reasoning is irresistible by any Force but Interest. His Judgment was such as not to undertake the Defence of any Cause but that of Truth. He was one of those few to whom is applicable, *Immodicis brevis est Ætas.*—— The Epithet may be interpreted, *Not a Lover of Moderation*, with less Strain than the Apostle's *Emenis* is brought to patronize Lukewarmness and want of Zeal.

Wood's Athenæ, and Dr. *Kennet's* Life of *Charles II.* both assert, that Dr. *Sandcroft* was made Archbishop at the Recommendation of the Duke of York. It is generally allowed, that it was none of his own seeking, but that he was sought for as a proper Person. However this Piece of secret History may have been set about, there seems little Probability in it. The Insinuation may be as old as his Preferment, and suited to the Cry of the Times, the Confusion of which is described by the King in his Declaration of April 8. 1681. “ Let
 “ not the restless Malice of ill Men, who are
 “ labouring to poison our People, some out of
 “ Fondness of their old beloved Commonwealth
 “ Principles, and some out of Anger at their
 “ being

“ being disappointed in the particular Designs they
 “ had for the Accomplishment of their own Am-
 “ bition and Greatness, persuade any of our good
 “ Subjects, that we intend to lay aside the Use of
 “ Parliaments——”

The next Year was the Nation alarmed with the *Popish* Plot. Fear possessed one Part, and hurried them into extravagant Methods for Security: Design and Ambition led another to make use of the Pannick in promoting their Republican Schemes. It is surprizing that there should be so different Opinions about the Reality of the Thing. One would think it depended altogether upon the Proof, or the Credit of those who proved it. And that People endued with the same Number of Eyes should see, or pretend to see, so differently with them, is strange.

The Bishop of *Sarum* drops it in his Account of a Conference with the King on the Year 1678.
 “ I waited often on him all the Month of *December*.
 “ He came to me at *Chiffinch's*, a Page of the Back
 “ Stairs; and kept the Time he assigned to a Mi-
 “ nute. He was alone, and talk'd much and very
 “ freely with me. We agreed in one Thing, that
 “ the greatest Part of the Evidence was a Contri-
 “ vance. But he suspected some had set on *Oates*,
 “ and instructed him: And he named the Earl of
 “ *Shaftsbury*. I was of another Mind. I thought
 “ the many gross Things in his Narrative shewed,
 “ there was no abler Head than *Oates* or *Tongue*,
 “ in the framing it: And *Oates* in his first Story,
 “ had covered the Duke, and the Ministers so
 “ much, that from thence it seemed clear, that
 “ Lord *Shaftsbury* had no Hand in it, who hated
 “ them much more than he did Popery.”

It is startling to find in this Author a Determination against the avowed Opinion of all his Party,

in

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in this Article of the Plot, and one more of the Earl of *Essex*.

He tells us upon the Death of Sir *Edmondbury Godfrey*, that “ *Prance* did also swear that a Servant of the Lord *Powis* had told him, that there was one in their Family who had undertaken to kill the King, but that some Days after he told him, they were now gone off from that Design. It look’d very strange, and added no Credit to his other Evidence, that the *Papists* should be thus talking of killing the King, as if it had been a common Piece of News. *But there are Seasons of believing, as well as of disbelieving*: and believing was then so much in Season, that Improbabilities or Inconsistencies were little considered. Nor was it safe so much as to make Reflexions on them. That was the blasting of the Plot, and disparaging the King’s Evidence. Tho’ indeed *Oates* and *Bedlow* did, by their Behaviour, detract more from their own Credit, than all their Enemies could have done. The former talk’d of all Persons with insufferable Insolence: And the other was a scandalous Libertine in his whole Deportment.”

The Bishop of *Peterburgh* from *Welwood’s* Memoirs gives us this, * “ That there was at that Time a *Popish* Plot, and that there always had been one since the *Reformation*, to support, if not restore the *Romish Religion* in *England*, scarce any body calls in question. How far the near Prospect of a *Popish Successor* ripen’d the Hopes, and gave new Vigour to the Designs of that Party, and what Methods they were then upon to bring those Designs about, *Coleman’s* Letters alone, without any other concurring Evidence, are more than sufficient to put the Matter out of

* *Life of K. Charles II.* p. 351.

“ Doubt.

“Doubt. But what Superstructure might have
“been afterwards built upon an unquestionable
“Foundation, and how far some of the *Witnesses*
“of that *Plot* might come to darken Truth by
“subsequent Additions of their own, must be
“deferred to the *Great Account*, to be made be-
“fore a *Higher Tribunal*. And till then a great
“Part of the *Popish Plot*, as it was then sworn to,
“will, in all Probability, lie *among the darkest*
“*Scenes of our English History*.”

In what Part of the Globe do these Instructors
of Posterity suppose their Readers to be born?
Is there a Race of Mankind so stupid as to be edi-
fied with this?

The Distinction is just, between a general Wish
or Readiness to promote a Thing, and an actual
Engagement to bring it about by this or that
Action. What then is the Use of this Distinction,
but to leave us as wise as we were before? Ad-
mitting the first, that a Plot was wished for; this
is no Proof that a Conspiracy was entered into.
The Witnesses who prove this Conspiracy are
Men to whom we can give no Credit; yet we will
believe what they say!

To tell us, the Truth must be referred to the
Great Account; and to a *Higher Tribunal*, is to say,
those that suffered for it were unjustly punished.
For, by all the Laws in the World, till a Thing
is *proved*, it is but *suspected*. And will a Jury
answer hanging on *Suspicion* at a *Higher Tribunal*?
This had been proper Doctrine for Juries; That
what they can't believe upon the Credit of the
Evidence, they ought to leave to the *Great Account*,
and the *Higher Tribunal*.

This is like the Doctrine of another Author
often cited in the Margin of the Bishop of *Peter-
burgh's History*; who, defending the *Republican*
F Scheme

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Scheme against Charles I. says, he admits his Adversaries Principle, that he was accountable only to God, and therefore *he was sent thither to give his Account.*

One would think, *Great Accounts*, and *Higher Tribunals* were talk'd of but for Form sake, as Expletives to Discourse, by which nothing more is meant than by swearing in common Conversation. If the Jury cannot credit the Evidence, what have they to do but to acquit the Prisoner? If we make ourselves Judges and Juries at this Distance of Time, we cannot alter the Nature of the Evidence then given. And if that Evidence to us appears full of *Improbabilities* and *Inconsistencies*, and the *Behaviour of the Witnesses detracts from their Credit*, what have we to do but to believe the accused Person innocent, till better Proof arises?

What have we to do to puzzle Causes for Posterity? To leave Things *in equilibrio*, which, candidly judged of, have so much greater Probability one Way than the other? Why must we justify the malicious, at least the erroneous Proceedings of Men in Fright or Passion, by representing the Truth so hard to find out? And make a Precedent for those that come after us, to judge without Proof, or, which comes to the same, such as we give no Credit to?

The Inconsistency is too gross to pass but by Nursery Fires, if we take Oates's last Narrative for Truth, which he wrote within these Forty Years: * 'Tis dedicated to King James II. in France. He tells him, "*his Brother was in the whole Plot, but that Part of it which concerned his own Life.*"

* Eikon Basilice Deutera.

This

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This is coming into Dr. *Welwood's* Scheme; That the whole was no more than Readiness to enter into a Plot; which *Coleman's* Letters alone were brought to prove. This ought not to be call'd *Unriddling* the Matter, for it was too plain to have any thing of Riddle in it. The Readiness for a Plot being admitted, the Proof of one formally concerted drops; if what follows out of the Bishop's History of his own Times be considered: * “ *Oates* and *Bedlow* swore against “ *Grove* and *Pickering*, that they undertook to “ shoot the King at *Windsor*; that *Grove* was “ to have 1500 l. for it; and that *Pickering* chose “ Thirty thousand Masses, which, at a Shilling a “ Mass, amounted to the same Sum: That they “ attempted it three several Times with a Pistol: “ Once the Flint was loose: At another Time “ there was no Powder in the Pan: And the “ third Time the Pistol was charged only with “ Bullets. This was strange Stuff. But all was “ imputed to a special Providence of God; And “ the whole Evidence was believed. So they were “ convicted, condemned, and executed. But “ they denied to the last every Particular that was “ sworn against them.

I shall add but one Passage more of the next Page; where the Author is speaking of *Dugdale*, “ who was Evidence against Lord *Stafford*: “ But “ he added a strange Story to this, which he “ said *Evers* told him afterwards; That the “ Duke had sent to *Coleman*, when he was in “ *Newgate*, to persuade him to discover nothing; “ and desiring to know of him, whether he had “ ever discovered their Designs to any other “ Person; and that *Coleman* sent back Answer,

* Trial of three Jesuits, and *Grove* and *Pickering*.

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“ that he had spoke of them to *Godfrey*, but to
 “ no other Man ; upon which the Duke gave
 “ Order to kill him. This was never made pub-
 “ lick till the Lord *Stafford's* Trial ; and I was
 “ amazed to see such a Thing break out after
 “ so long a Silence. It looked like an Addition
 “ to *Dugdale's* first Evidence ; tho' he had been
 “ noted for having brought out all his Disco-
 “ veries at once. The Earl of *Essex* told me,
 “ he swore it in his first Examination.”

Coleman told this to a Protestant Justice of Peace ! But were not all the People hang'd upon a formed Design to murder the King ? And is this defended at last by a general Readiness to enter into a Design ? What is there now for Posterity to be in Doubt about ? The Juries had two Things before them, to condemn upon insufficient Evidence, or to acquit the Prisoner. Ought not much to depend upon Character in these Cases ? On the one hand, here are a few profligate Wretches swearing Men out of their Lives, with manifest *Improbabilities* and *Inconsistencies* : On the other, Men that have nothing to be objected to their Behaviour in Times past, shall be thought guilty of the most enormous Crimes, of which their Religion only is the Proof : Which Crimes too every one died denying. It is no greater Affront to our *Species* to suppose one Man capable of Perjury, than to suppose another capable of Parricide.

This Sentence of Dr. *Welwood's* already quoted, is without any Foundation that has yet appeared, and therefore ought not to be referred to a *Higher Tribunal*, which has not yet come before a *Lower*.
 “ What Superstructure might have been built
 “ upon an unquestionable Foundation, and how
 “ far some of the *Witnesses* of that Plot might
 “ come

“ come to darken Truth by subsequent Additions of their own, must be deferred till the *Great Account*, to be made before a *Higher Tribunal*.”

What is all this but darkning Truth? But finding an Excuse for Subornation and Perjury? What is meant by an unquestionable Foundation, but a Foundation for Wishes? This must be call'd a Superstructure upon an unquestionable Foundation; which he knew was nothing else but Perjury founded upon an unquestionable Readiness in the People to hang any Man that was Popishly affected.

Forging a Plot is Superstructure, and subsequent Addition! Did ever any Man before find this Distinction in a Knight of the Post? Half is credible, because from the Principles of some People one might imagine they would be concerned in such an Attempt; the other half, too gross to be admitted, is rejected, as foisted in on purpose to disparage and overload the Truth. What Proof has been given of a Witness hired to ruin his Evidence, by adding an incredible Part to it? Perjury once proved disables a Man from giving Evidence. Why should not Perjury once supposed do the same, when we are but Supposing; when we are passing Judgment upon what was acted before our own Time?

This *Jargon* in the room of Argument; this playing with Words; this proving Things from Prepossession and Prejudice, brings us just where we were before, to that humble Confession of the Bishop of Sarum; *That there are Seasons of Believing, as well as of Disbelieving*. That is to say, Men follow as they are led; but they are pleased with a *Bell-weather* of their own chusing.

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In other Cases the Authority of a Magistrate, a Parent, a Master shall be disputed. The Expediency of their Commands must be visible before they gain our Obedience: Whilst an artful Persuader hath them at his Beck, and draws them into those Actions that prove, they believe every thing they hear, nothing they see.

The Reason is plain; Mankind are governed by their Fears. And whoever hath the Dexterity to shew them their Danger, shall have the good Luck to prescribe the Remedy. A dextrous Leader believes for the Herd. He is a Political Godfather, speaks for them all, and they ratify his Engagements.

Hence may be traced their Pleas for Conscience. The Leaders Opinion governs theirs; and it becomes a Point of Conscience to be afraid of whatever he suggests to be dangerous. And when a Man pleads his own Conscience, making indifferent Things sinful, only because they are commanded, he means his Leader's Conscience: And so may with some Modesty insist upon his Plea, because he has shewn a Deference to his Leader's Authority. He is not obstinate, because he depends upon the Judgment of those he takes to be wiser than himself.

The only Error is, that he will chuse a Leader for himself; and throws off him that God and Nature have appointed. Whatever is pretended of the Liberty of Judging, in Cases where Men have no Talents to judge, the Dispute is only, who shall judge for them: Whether Authority or Inclination; whether a Father or a Friend. The Man himself has no Choice, who either has no Understanding of the Thing in Dispute, or gives up his Understanding to somebody he has an Opinion will direct it right.

To

Archbishop of CANTERBURY. 71

To what an unfortunate State is Mankind reduced, when Liberty makes him a Slave? When the artful Insinuations of an interested Person lay an Embargo upon his stated Obedience, and give him up to the wild Fancies of mad or knavish Advisers? When he is drawn in to the Commission of Robbery and Murder to promote some pious End, and is made himself Party to those Crimes his Zeal engaged him to prevent?

Our Histories seem to be written either for Design, or Profit. The latter Inducement may sometimes comprehend the other. It were a good Wish, they might be compiled rather for the Profit of the Reader than the Writer; I mean, for his Edification. There is so much of another kind in some of them, that a well-intended Romance is preferable. Diverting is a grand Point in some: Corrupting in others. Nor is the Point of Diversion always managed without Offence. There are frequently Stories told tending to the unsettling Men from Principles, and filling their Heads with such Amusements as prepare them for such Impressions as may prove to their great Disadvantage.

I can't conceive the Use of that History of *Second-fight* relating to *Charles I.* and Archbishop *Spotswood*, with which the third Volume of *English History* begins, but to send Girls to a Fortune-teller. * “ In 1603 there was such an Augury
“ made of his (*Charles I.*) future Greatness, as
“ deserves to be here related. When his Royal
“ Father King *James* was preparing for his Re-
“ move to the Throne of *England*; a certain old
“ Laird of the *Highlands* came to take his so-
“ lemn Leave of the Court, and was for that

* Bishop of *Peterburgh*.

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“ Purpose admitted into the Bed-chamber, where
 “ he found himself in the Presence of his Ma-
 “ jesty, the Queen, and Royal Children. He
 “ addressed himself to the King with a long deal
 “ of sage Advice, and affectionate Wishes. He
 “ then, overlooking Prince *Henry*, applied him-
 “ self directly to Duke *Charles*, and kiss’d his
 “ Hand with so much Ardency and Devoutness,
 “ as if he meant to pay some extraordinary Ho-
 “ nours to him. The King, to correct his (sup-
 “ posed) Mistake, seem’d to take him off, and
 “ to direct him to his elder Son, who, as Heir
 “ of the Crown, had a Title to his first and greatest
 “ Respect and Observance. But the antient Laird
 “ would not be guided, nor diverted from his
 “ earnest Applications to the little Duke; and
 “ said, *He was not mistaken; he knew to whom he*
 “ *addressed himself: This Child, whom he now saw*
 “ *in his Nurse’s Arms, should be greater than his*
 “ *elder Brother, and should convey his Father’s*
 “ *Name and Titles to succeeding Generations.* An
 “ Historian * observes, that this was then con-
 “ ceived to be Dotage; but the Event gave it
 “ the Credit of a Prophecy, and confirmed that
 “ Opinion, That some long experienced Souls in
 “ the World, before their dislodging, arrive to
 “ the Height of prophetick Spirits.”

What is this now but Dream or Fancy? Or
 rather, but a bold Pretence to know what the
 Company cannot contradict, and what, if no Part
 of it had happen’d right, would never have been
 remember’d? What have experienced Souls to
 shew for their Skill in Futurity more than other
 Souls? If it were put upon the Foot of Vision
 or Revelation, and that had its Vouchers, it might

* *Perinchief.*

claim some Credit. But the Experience gives it none, except that a younger may outlive an elder Brother. And the Author, were he alive, might be troubled in making out his Prophecy beyond one Generation.

Archbishop *Spotswood's* Oracle was indeed given out by a Woman, the proper Sex for that Work. "He was no sooner brought into the World, but this remarkable Passage did accompany his Birth: For among the rest that were present (not ordinary Gossips, but Women of good Note) there was one among them, who in a sober, tho' a prophetic Fit, taking the Child in her Arms, call'd aloud to the rest, in these or the like Terms; *You may all very well rejoice at the Birth of this Child; for he will become the Prop and Pillar of this Church, and the main and chief Instrument in the defending of it.*"

In those difficult Times, when Jealousies were promoted between the King and the People; when the People were equally jealous of one another, was Dr. *Sandcroft* advanced to the Archbishopal Chair. Such was his Deportment in that high Station, as to give his Enemies no Pretence to defame him. As he had no temporary Views of his own; as his sole Care was to acquit himself as became the Man who presided in the Direction of Church Affairs, he kept clear of the Quarrels in which the Laiety were engaged. In all the Struggles there were for obtaining Power, all the Arts of keeping it, all the Resentments of subverted Greatness, his Actions received no Influence or Biass, but were determined by his own Judgment.

Not a Vote of Consequence could pass in the House of Lords, but the Party against which the Bishops appeared were sure to lay the Blame on that

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that Bench. They were accountable to nobody for their Votes; nor could justly be thought the only Persons in that honourable Assembly unfit to judge for themselves. How would it have look'd for them to have ask'd the Enemies of the Church, how they should give their Voice? Yet by the Complaints made against them thro' the whole Nation, by Appeals to the Populace, by spiriting the Rabble against the Office, as much as against the Men, those Patriots seem to have expected it.

The Archbishop in his second Year set out some Directions in giving Testimonials for Holy Orders; strictly requiring the Persons who set their Hands to give in their Certificate upon Knowledge, not Hearsay. If those Letters were made use of in another Diocese than that where they were given, they were not to be received without Letters Dimissory of the Bishop, or other Ordinary of the Place, attesting in Writing the Ability, Honesty, and good Conversation of the Person commended.

The Introduction gives the Reasons of this Injunction; "Whereas the easy and promiscuous granting of *Letters Testimonial* (which is in itself a sacred Thing, and in the first Intention of great and very weighty Importance) is by the Lapse of Time, and the Corruption which by insensible Degrees is crept into the best Institutions, come to be, both in the Universities and elsewhere in the Dioceses, a Matter of meer Formality, a Piece of common Civility, scarce denied to any that ask it, and many times upon the Credit of the first Subscriber, attested by the rest, who have otherwise no Knowledge of the Person so adorned; or else, where more Conscience is made of bearing False-witness, even for

“ a Neighbour, is done so perfunctorily, and in
“ so low and dilate Terms, as to signify nothing
“ at all to the great End which 'tis design'd to
“ serve, and yet is sometimes with a like Easiness
“ and Remissness received and proceeded upon ;
“ whereby great Mischiefs in the Church, and
“ Scandals daily ensue ; Persons altogether unde-
“ serving, at least not duly qualified, being too
“ often, upon the Credit of such Papers, admitted
“ into Holy Orders, and, in Consequence, there-
“ upon thrusting themselves into Employments
“ of high Trust and Dignity and Advantage in
“ the Church, and by their numerous Intrusions
“ preventing and excluding others of greater Mo-
“ desty and Merit.”

END of the FIRST PART.



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